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Ethnohistorical research methodology for classroom use; development of a social portrait of Springfield, Massachusetts, 1850 to 1880.

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ETHNOHISTORICAL RESEARCH METHODOLOGY FOR CLASSROOM USE: DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIAL PORTRAIT OF SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, 1850 TO 1880

A Dissertation

By

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June, 1974

DEDICATION

To my wife Phyllis Bracey Helms
and daughters Erica and Wynn
with all my love and affection.

ABSTRACT

Ethnohistorical Research Methodology for Classroom Use: Development of a Social Portrait of Springfield, Massachusetts, 1850 to 1880 (June 1974)

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The primary concern of this research endeavor is twofold. First, Chapter II provides the reader with an ethnohistorical model which outlines the procedures used in systematic investigation of particular ethnic groups, a term I refer to as "ethnohistory"; and secondly, some of these techniques are used in the investigation of the Afro-American population of Springfield, Massachusetts, prior to the turn of the twentieth century.

This dissertation attempts to provide for both the student in secondary school and in college a method to become part of the educational process; that is, the interested student of the social sciences can participate on an equal basis with the instructor in the gathering and presenting of local ethnohistorical data. It acquaints the student with a number of academic areas drawn on by the ethnohistorian.

The second aspect of this study provides the reader

with an illustration of applied ethnohistoric methodology. In this case study of Afro-Americans in Springfield, Massachusetts, prior to the turn of the twentieth century, data never before assembled and analyzed are presented as one method of reporting population change and acculturation, both of which are integral components of ethnohistorical investigation.

Although the data used in this study are concerned with the Black population, the method and the data would allow the exploration of any ethnic population or randomly selected population.

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Background of the Study

For a number of years college and public school students have articulated the concern that most of their educational efforts have been aimed at courses of study which were not relevant. White as well as Black and other socio-economic minorities have argued, for example, that the problems of ancient Greece or Rome have little to do with the historical and/or survival problems faced by oppressed people in the world today. A number of contemporary educators like Jacques Barzun have attempted to refute these disclaimors by suggesting that, " . . . what has been acquired with a will is always 'relevant' . . . " (Barzun: p. 71). Whether the views of the students or those of Barzun and his followers are right or wrong does not seem to be the central question. What seems to be more at issue is the fact that as long as a large number of students find the instructional methods, materials, and aims, and, if you will, institutions of higher learning in general, unsuitable to their particular needs, then continuing efforts must be made to create viable alternatives

to present educational offerings. That is to say, if Black students, for example, find that most institutions of higher learning are pedagogically repressive in the treatment of Black history and culture, then methods must be introduced which will allow these students to enjoy full and active participation in the educational process.

It is not the intention of this study to propose that the system of higher education be revamped, but rather to present a methodological approach to ethnohistory which will allow students to inquire, yet, at the same time to collect and analyze data which are both meaningful and "relevant" to the understanding of ethnic movements within the United States. Stated another way, if education has become " . . . an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor" (Freire: p. 58), then I would propose that the creation of programs which would allow the student to become both receiver (depository) and giver (depositor) should be the pedagogical goal.

The institution of courses which are designed to permit students to involve themselves in fields of research, with relatively infrequent lecturing sessions, is one method which will allow full and equal participation by both students and teacher. Field research permits students to explore cross-cultural data which have been traditionally

and inherently essential to anthropology and, to a lesser degree, other social sciences; but, equally important, it encourages students to actively participate in the local community in which they reside. This would mean that the students would have to establish formal and informal lines of communications with residents of the community, become fully aware of the written historical materials available in the region, and hopefully, integrate the data gleaned from the past with current community problems.

The educational model and ethnohistoric case study presented in Chapters III through IV are examples of applied ethnohistoric methodology, while Chapter II acquaints the reader with some of the "tools of the trade." These tools or techniques are outlined and discussed to provide the new students of ethnohistorical inquiry with a working knowledge of the language used by the cultural historian and to acquaint the student with some of the advantages and disadvantages of the available historical sources. Chapters III and IV, on the other hand, present the reader with a case study of the Afro-American population of Springfield, Massachusetts, using many of the ethnohistorical techniques discussed in Chapter II. For the reader interested only in the cultural history of the Black population in Springfield, Chapters III and IV can appear as an independent monograph. That reader is

advised, however, that the techniques explained in Chapter II contributed substantially to the form as well as to the content of the study which emerged.

Statement of the Problem

The primary concern of this research endeavor is two-fold. First, I will provide for the reader an ethno-historical model which will outline the procedures used in systematic investigation of particular ethnic groups, a term I refer to as "ethnohistory"; and secondly, I apply some of these techniques in the investigation of the Afro-American population of Springfield, Massachusetts, prior to the turn of the twentieth century.

The process of ethnohistorical research among anthropologists has been a recognized field of inquiry for a number of years. This form of socio-historical investigation allows the researcher to combine the materials and knowledge used by both the historian and the anthropologist in an effort to fully understand the complex nature of a given population over time and space. In this regard, Charles Valentine, Professor of Anthropology at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, writes:

> For the historically oriented anthropologist . . . ethnohistory has two important aspects. First, the value of historical documents as a source of data highly relevant to these interests is recognized. The systematic

> exploitation of this resource, in conjunction with ethnographic investigation and any other form of field research found useful in dealing with a particular problem, constitutes an ethnohistorical method. Secondly, the use of such an integrating method leads to a culture-historical description which portrays the development of one or more ethnic groups through time. Such a portrayal may be termed an ethnohistory (Ethnohistory: 1960, p. 2).

This does not mean, however, that the process of ethnographic exploration is confined to the methodological procedures used strictly by one or both disciplines. The field of anthropology itself is one which allows the social science oriented student to apply the research techniques of different disciplines in the investigation of populations or other socio-cultural phenomena. The use of data and techniques conceptualized and refined by political scientists, economists, and computerologists, to mention a few specialists, has deeply enriched the eclectic properties of anthropological inquiry.

For the secondary and/or college level student residing in or near the numerous small cities and towns in the United States, the local libraries and historical societies can provide access to data which, in certain instances, would not be available outside these particular areas. This means, of course, that two of the largest problems faced by the student interested in creating an ethnohistory--money and time--are not insurmountable. On the contrary, most materials used by the ethnohistorian

can be located and used within relatively short periods of time and, just as importantly, within easy reach of the student.

The second aspect of this study provides the reader with an illustration of applied ethnohistoric methodology. In this case study of Afro-Americans in Springfield, Massachusetts, prior to the turn of the twentieth century, data never before assembled and analyzed is presented as one method of reporting population change and acculturation, both of which are integral components of ethnohistorical investigation.

Of equal importance in the illustration of this case study is the fact that the data were collected almost entirely in the city of Springfield with relatively little monetary expenditure, and the sources of information concerning the population were available in accessible locations like libraries, churches, and the local historical society. Although the data used in this study are concerned with the Black population, the method and the data would allow the exploration of any ethnic population or randomly selected population. One could, for example, identify Spanish-surnamed individuals, or the inquiry might be concerned with the life-styles of immigrant Irish laborers in a particular city. Whatever the case, the data seem to be available in sufficient

quantities and in areas which are open to the interested student.

CHAPTER II

A FIELD GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF ETHNOHISTORY: SOME OBSERVATIONS

Only recently has the social historian attempted to investigate the conditions which prevailed for the economically depressed populations living in the United States. Yet, from the time of the full-scale invasion of this country by the Europeans and later the European imported slave and servant classes, few attempts have been made by social scientists to place the cultural and acculturative process of the poor and/or minorities into historical perspective.[1]

The primary reason for the neglect of these groups in the literature is due to the overt concern of American writers with the phenomenon of the hero. That is to say, implicit in the writing of United States history is the fact that equal opportunity for becoming great (that is, making enormous sums of money and concomitantly becoming famous) is available to all who are fortunate enough to

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[1]For example, see: Stephan Thernstrom. Poverty and Progress. New York: Atheneum, 1971; George K. Hesslink. Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community. New York: The Bobbs-Merril Company, 1968; and, Alfred Mathews. History of Cass County, Michigan. Chicago: Waterman and Co., 1881.

live within its majesty. Consequently, local histories abound with information about founders of cities and towns and the lives they led, with little or no information about the laborer, the very backbone of an industrial society. A possible exception to this point, however, is the fact that some importance is given in the literature to the "social underdog." A case in point would be that some concern is shown for the people who appear historically on the bottom rung of the socio-economic ladder. The plight of the Irish in mid-nineteenth century and the emancipated slave, to some degree, are examples of the exception.[2] Historically recreated, however, the immigrant's profile became another vehicle for perpetrating the prevailing theories of American socialization: the "underdog" soon learned the language, worked his way into his new community and toward financial success, and, as with the Irish immigrant "hero," Andrew Carnegie, might even strike it rich. In any event, whether the underdog escaped European impoverishment or bondage in America, not remaining an underdog underlies the melting pot idealization of American social history in the nineteenth century. Large numbers of Blacks in America have never surmounted the economic barriers out of obscurity nor, despite decades

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[2]See: Dixon Wecter. The Hero in America. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1966.

of Americanizing, have they ceased to be culturally distinct, a combination of factors which assisted the continuance of Afro-Americans as actual underdogs in our success-conscious society. In addition Blacks as well as the economically depressed Whites remained unacknowledged in written histories which singled out for view the socially prominent few.

This research attempt has singled out a number of measures considered important in understanding the cultural history of a large segment of our society. Hopefully these materials will be added to or modified to fit the needs of the researcher.

The Use of the United States Census Manuscript Schedules in Ethnohistory

The most readily available sources of information concerning residents of any area in the United States during the nineteenth century are the United States Census Manuscript Schedules, which are generally housed in major city libraries throughout the country. The federal census was first accomplished in 1790; but, because of its relatively crude nature, it and subsequent early census data reports showed only rudimentary statistical data. For example, the investigation of Afro-Americans through the use of census data is severely hampered prior to 1850

because Blacks are exclusively listed under the category of "Free or Slave Colored." Since they were enumerated under one area only, individual names do not appear, making it impossible to identify Black and other minority persons by name until the federal census of 1850. This, of course, means that only number counts can be made prior to the census of 1850.

When the federal census of 1850 was begun, data previously unrecorded was made available. For the first time information like individual names, age, race, sex, place of birth, and occupation were reported for each person enumerated. These data, although limited according to current standards, enable the ethnohistorian to correlate a most interesting picture of nineteenth-century America. By randomly selecting portions of the population under investigation, or by using the entire population, the researcher can, for example, determine such factors as:

(1) family size,
(2) age-grades and/or ages of individuals within the population,
(3) kinds of occupations held by individuals or groups of individuals,
(4) ages of individuals in the labor force, and
(5) kinds of occupations held by the various racial groups.

Moreover, the data can be manipulated to inform the researcher on many other aspects of mid-nineteenth century America; the kinds of informational results depend on the nature of the study and the kinds of data collected.

However, the full exploitation of the data found on the census manuscript schedules depends on at least two important factors: size of the population under investigation, and the method(s) employed to manipulate the variables found on these schedules. I have found that during the nineteenth century most towns had relatively small populations, which meant that the specific ethnic group under investigation would be correspondingly small. In the cases of the smaller towns, then, it becomes feasible to include the total population under investigation in the study. When the population under study is of manageable size (that is, somewhere between several hundred persons to two or three thousand) the research problems are lessened. It is easier to extract data from the manuscript schedules if all one has to do is remove the data from the schedules without concern for sampling devices. Since most populations in the various cities and towns of mid-nineteenth century American were small, the subgroups with the total population (Black, Irish, or others) are of such size as to allow for the use of the total universe in the city or town.

Yet, if one were to investigate an area like New York City, or Chicago, the manner of manipulation would be seriously effected by the substantial size of the population, which dictates the use of some generalization of the population. For those students unprepared in the use of sampling techniques, a number of effective studies have been produced which can give invaluable service. Such works are: Basic Research Methods in Social Science by Julian L. Simon (Random House, New York: 1969) and Anthropological Research by Pertti J. Pelto (Harper & Row, New York: 1970).

One procedure for the treatment of these extracted data is to copy all of the data on the manuscript schedules onto computer coding sheets and prepare these data for correlation by the computer. This procedure can be used by the student researcher who is without sophistication and advanced knowledge or training in the uses of the computer, since most institutions of higher learning, and increasingly senior high schools, have among their staffs qualified professionals able to give advice in the preparation of the data which is to be fed into the computer. One must, of course, become familiar with some basic techniques such as coding, storage of data, and the kinds of questions that can be asked and manipulated by the several types of computers, before any attempt at collection is undertaken,

but all of these questions and potential problem areas for the novice can be answered and solved by consulting the director of the nearest computer center.

Since the number of variables reported on the census manuscript schedules can be unwieldy, the use of the computer becomes almost a necessity. If one wants to determine residential persistence, for example, and several hundred or even several thousand names of residents are involved, time alone dictates the use of non-manual methods. That is, when the researcher wishes to determine how long individuals or groups of individuals remained in the town under study, relatively reliable determination can be made by programing the computer to locate individuals appearing on one census and who reappear on subsequent census schedules. In the study reported in Chapters III and IV, the primary method used to determine persistence involved programing the computer to examine all of the individuals enumerated on the 1850 census reports and storing the constant variables which would be needed to determine what individuals reappeared on one or more censuses. These constant variables were name, age, race, and place of birth. The initial data were taken from microfilmed copies of the original manuscript schedules, coded, and placed on computer cards. After this process was completed, a computer program was written to alphabetize each card

by name and the census year in which the name was found. The computer was then programed to search and store all names reported on the 1850 census along with the concomitant data like age, race, sex, occupation, and place of birth. After the storing process was completed, the program instructed the computer to search the 1860, 1870, and finally the 1880 census lists to determine if any individuals found on the 1850 census could be located on these subsequent census listings. After this function was performed, the 1850 list of names was disregarded by the computer and the storing process of the 1860 listings were made. The same process was continued through the 1870 census data.

When an individual reappeared on one or more census periods, the following data were printed on the computer print-out:

(1) the individual names of each resident,

(2) the census period in which the individual first appeared and the subsequent census appearances,

(3) the race of each person,

(4) the sex of each person,

(5) the age when he or she first appeared, and,

(6) the occupation that each resident had for each census period.

The final results showed the percentage of Black

residents remaining in Springfield from one census period to another. However, it is difficult to imagine performing this study without the use of the computer. Yet, this is not to say that the manipulation of the census data cannot be performed by non-mechanical means. A great deal depends on the size of the population and the amount of time the student is able and/or willing to devote to the project.

Advantages and Disadvantages in the Use of Census Manuscript Schedules

The census manuscript schedules, especially after the census of 1840, provide the ethnohistorian with the most readily available supply of data on population characteristics in nineteenth-century America. In no other location can social statistical information, on such a large scale, concerning the lives of the working class, be found. Yet, there are some short-comings to these data. First, there are undoubtly errors of omission as well as ones of commission. That is to say, census takers then, as well as more current census undertakings, failed to enumerate portions of the population. I have found evidence, for example, that individuals who were not enumerated during a given census period were, in fact, living in town during the period in question. Accordingly, 10 or 15 percent of the total population may have been missed. However, I do

not find this problem to be an insurmountable one. I feel that as long as the researcher takes into account the fact that all of the population is not reported, he or she will be able to represent the findings honestly. That is to say, the data I report in Chapters III and IV below are representative of the Black population in nineteenth-century Springfield. Certainly, a large number of Afro-Americans may not have been enumerated, yet, of those who were counted, valuable quantitative data was unearthed. Most ethnohistorical studies will not focus themselves on the actual numbers of individuals in a given city or town, but, they will concern themselves with only those residents reported on the census manuscript schedules in question.

The Use of City Directories in Ethnohistorical Research

The local city directories, usually found in most city libraries, can provide the researcher with similar data found on the census manuscript schedules. Moreover, this source of information provides data on local residences and, perhaps equally as important, they were published yearly in almost every city. Peter Knights, who has published more on these documents than anyone else, states in the Historical Methods Newsletter:

> The purpose of a city directory was at least three-fold: foremost, it facilitated inter-personal communication in an era in which

> urban intra-communication was not instantaneous, since urban telegraph companies did not flourish until after the Civil War. Secondly, directories were, presumably, intended to make money for their compilers. Once over the costly hurdle of the initial city canvass of names, preparation costs probably dropped. But directories still cost 50 cents to a dollar, the equivalent of one or two days work for a common laborer. Interestingly, in most cities there was little directory competition. Where it occurred, it was usually brief and followed by consolidation. Last, descriptive features in the directories advertised the community (p. 2).

The local city directories contain the name of the head of the household, occupation, home address, and, if the person owned a business, the business address. One other aspect of these documents is of importance in the investigation of the Afro-American: usually the race of Black people was stated.

There are several advantages to the use of these documents. First, the information provided by these records allows the investigator to make checks on the reliability of the census data. Since each of these sources provides the names of individual residents, it becomes fairly easy to determine how long one resident remained, or when he or she left the city or town. Secondly, the directories provide information about housing patterns. By listing all of the homes of the population under investigation, the student can determine where in the city the population resided. Since these records were

hypothetically brought up to date yearly, one might create demographic maps showing the movement of residents over time. One of the clear disadvantages, however, is the fact that house numbers were not used in the directories until late in the nineteenth century. This means that determining exact locations of individual homes is very difficult. However, some indication is usually given which provides the researcher some idea where the house was located so that a close approximation can be made. For example, one listing in the Springfield City Directory for 1850, states:

> John Williams, employed Wesson, resides corner of State and Walnut Street-- Colored. . .

When these directories, along with other local historical data concerning street names are used together, a fairly accurate demographic study can be produced (see Appendices G through J).

Another disadvantage to the use of these documents is that minorities and/or the poor were generally excluded from the enumeration. Peter Knights remarks that, " . . . when one does check up on the comprehensiveness of ante-bellum directories by comparing them with the federal census, he may find distinct class or racial biases. . . . Since directories served primarily the business classes, they neglected somewhat the lower

classes . . . " (Knights: 1969, p. 2). However, Steven Thernstrom argues that,

> The greatest weakness of the city directories was not that they were biased against low status residents per se, as has often been assumed, but rather that they were biased against very recent migrants, tending not to include them until they had passed some time in the city and seemed relatively settled (p. 43).

I think that students who apply these documents to their research will find a large measure of truth to both positions; that is, recent migrants to the cities and towns were generally excluded, and minorities were, by and large, excluded from these reports. In Springfield, for example, the 1880 census enumerated 306 Black people in the labor force, but the city directories enumerated one hundred Black households. Taking into account multiple job holders in each household, the directories had omitted a considerable number of Black residences.

Local Histories and Newspapers in Ethnohistories

The story of the working class population lies, in part, in the pages of the local histories and newspapers. I state "in part" because the picture of their involvement in history is seldom clear and only partly stated. One can usually get only the particular biases of the authors or the prevailing sentiment of the community at the time of

publication. Nevertheless, these materials can be useful to the ethnohistorian. By taking the time to review all of the material on the subject under study, the investigator can develop some idea of the social position of the population being studied. When both the local histories and the local newspaper accounts are checked against each other there is often a balancing of views.

The process of reviewing the early newspapers is a long and tiresome procedure; yet, for the interested student, this source can provide a fascinating picture of the past. Since most towns have microfilmed these editions, one does not have to wade through stacks of old newspapers nor be sequestered in a dark mysterious basement of the public library. Most city libraries and local colleges or universities seem to have adequate editions of at least one local newspaper. When more than one newspaper company found in town and back editions are available, periodic checks of the second paper can provide the reader with different points of view. However, most small towns are not financially able to microfilm more than one company's editions. One might keep in mind that regardless of the trouble and time the investigator has to expend, the cultural/historical materials received from these editions are well worth the time and effort.

Advantages and Disadvantages to the Use of Local Histories and Newspapers

The most important advantage to the student collecting data for an ethnohistory lies in the fact that these materials focus primarily on the subject under investigation. Since the researcher is not overly concerned with data relating to areas outside the geographic region being studied, these sources allow the investigator to give his or her undivided attention to the cultural history of the local area. Of course this advantage does not apply to the materials found in newspapers. The journalistic style of eighteenth and nineteenth-century newspapers stressed the importance of foreign and out-of-state news items over local events. This does not mean, however, that local matters went unreported. When each edition of the local papers is examined one can collect sufficient data to supplement other local sources like the histories.

Another advantage to these materials is in their assessibility to the researcher. One does not have to travel very far to gain access to most of the published accounts. I have found that most librarians were more than willing to share both the written sources of information and whatever personal knowledge they might have. Generally, the researcher needs only ask.

The greatest disadvantage one might have with both

the published histories and the local newspapers is that they both tend to concentrate on the influential segments of the community at the general exclusion of minorities and/or the poor. Consequently, a great deal of time must be spent gathering together the relatively small quantities of data contained in these sources. I have found that the material concerning Blacks and other minority groups can be extracted from these sources, but, the researcher must be prepared to allot enough time to the material or they will be of little use to them.

Oral History

Perhaps the most difficult area in the study of ethnic groups is in the collection of oral history. The term "oral history," like so many aspects in this area of study, can mean different things to different investigators. I use the term to mean the oral transmission of any historical event, from one generation to another.

One of the first procedures any researcher must confront is defining the problem to be investigated; that is, what is the problem statement. It is very important to clearly delineate the parameters of the study so that the researcher has some general idea of what kinds of data he or she is looking for. The alternative to the setting of these boundaries is investigatory wheel-spinning. I have

discovered that before any attempt to engage in field work, the researcher must articulate the concerns of what the study will be.

The second step in the collection of scientific materials is for the investigator to determine the kinds of procedures to use in the actual collection of the data. For example, one of the most important questions I have had to answer in the collection of oral history is whether during the interview session notes will be taken or a tape recorder will be used. There are times, of course, when the question of what procedure to use is dictated by the interviewee. That is, some informants become uneasy or tend to "perform" before the microphone. Others fear that what they say to the interviewer might be played back to neighbors or other people in the informant's family. This problem might be solved simply by consulting the informant before the interview session begins.

Since the chances of using a tape recorder are at times negated by the desires of the respondent, extreme care must be exercised by the researcher to ensure fair and accurate recording of all conversations. If a tape recorder can not be used, the researcher must make every effort to record, through the taking of notes, the highlights of the conversation as accurately as possible. As a matter of practice, the student should consult the

informant about the accuracy of the notes prior to preparing the data for final presentation. This allows the interviewee to make additions to the original account as well as to correct any misinterpretations in the researcher's notes.

One of the most important advantages of the tape recorder as an ethnohistorical tool is that the student can maintain a permanent historical account. That is to say, when the interviewee is no longer available for questioning, the compilation of data from the interview session can still be of value to the interviewer or subsequent researchers. Another advantage of the tape recorder is that of accuracy. Most students, for example, recall the exasperating experience of becoming engrossed in a given lecture and, much to their dismay, fail to record significant portions of an argument being articulated or in some cases forget to make note of an idea altogether. The same is true when one is collecting data for an ethnohistory. Very often the ideas being reported by the respondent are of such interest to the interviewer that parts of the information are left unrecorded during the session itself.

Another determination that must be made before the process of collecting data commences is the designing of the interviewing instrument. There are at least two

fundamental types of questions that might be of interest to the ethnohistorian. First the questions of the informant's background should be of particular concern. These questions would involve determining the respondent's age, place of birth, the length of residency in the city, occupation of the interviewee, voluntary associations that he or she might hold membership in, and, any other similar data which might be of use in the investigation.

The second form of questioning should be concerned with the specific data required by the researcher. That is to say, the investigator should attempt to channel the discussion toward specific informational areas. Very often, for example, elderly respondents will become sidetracked in their remembrances of the past; anything which distracts the informant and/or prolongs the interview may lessen the chance of the investigator's acquiring the data he or she needs to complete the study. The student can maintain control of the session by interrupting the informant, if necessary, and by presenting a different question may lead the interviewee back to the desired topic.

To handle this problem and other questions in developing interviewing techniques, there are several sources that the beginning student might use: Herbert Hyman. Interviewing in Social Research. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954; Stanley L. Payne.

The Art of Asking Questions. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1951; and, Thomas R. Williams. Field Methods in the Study of Culture. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967. The student might also consider practicing interviewing techniques on classmates, relatives, or friends before attempting to acquire data from a resource informant. The student must keep in mind that the only way to become proficient in an interviewing situation is through experience. Valuable experience can be gained by experimenting on people with whom one feels comfortable and close.

The third step in this process of scientific inquiry is the actual collection and analysis of the data. During this process, the collectors of oral history remove themselves to the geographic area to be investigated. For most students attempting to write ethnohistories, the collection of oral history would probably mean nothing more than establishing responsive contacts in their own neighborhoods and setting about the task of collection. Usually one interviewee will know of other people in the community who have knowledge about the topic being investigated and will recommend these possible sources to the researcher. To the inexperienced student attempting to collect oral data for the first time, this can be a frightful undertaking. I have talked with students who were frightened to the

point of tears at the thought of going into the field and interviewing someone for the first time. However, after the initial contact with the informant, these students have found that their fears were unjustified. They eventually found their experiences in the collection of oral history rewarding both as an educational exercise and in personal enjoyment.

The presentation of the data, the fourth step in scientific inquiry, can come in any form the investigator wishes. Basically, one might report the findings in a narrative form; that is, present the results of the interview in (1) question and response outline, or, (2) story form. The question and response presentation might be reported as follows:

> Question: How long has your family lived in town?
>
> Response: Our family came from Mississippi here forty years ago. . . .

This form allows the reader to present the pertinent facts about the individual being interviewed from the answers to the questions. It also permits the interviewer to make comments about the informant's responses, further explicating the process.

The story form is the reporting form which reduces the content of the interview to only the data essential to the researcher's desires. For example, rather than report

the entire conversation, the interviewer writes the findings in summary form.

The fifth step in the research process is the forming of the hypothesis. Often the research is accomplished to obtain data for the explicit purpose of formulating an hypothesis. When this is the case, the first stage, the problem statement, follows the articulation of the hypothesis so that the hypothesis can be tested. However, this fifth stage is one that may or may not be a part of the ethnohistorical process. Charles Valentine (1968) states that:

> Inquiries and observations in ethnography, as in other kinds of research, are necessarily limited and selective. One hallmark of ethnographic investigation, however, is that the limits and criteria of selective inquiry are not fully set prior to going into the field. On the contrary, the ethnographer must be prepared to make many decisions about lines of inquiry and methods of approach, as his data accumulate and contours of social existence begin to unfold before him. Anthropology is quite cognizant of the basic scientific requirement that hypotheses and abstractions must be shown to conform to concrete evidence. Yet ethnography is not basically an experimental approach to particular questions, restricted by narrow requirements of precision in prediction and control. Rather, it is essentially an exploratory enterprise seeking to chart extensive unknowns (p. 173).

Whether an hypothesis is used in the consideration of the data does not seem to be an overriding consideration. I feel that the nature of the study, after the other

processes mentioned above have been taken into account, will determine if this fifth step is necessary. However, because of the descriptive nature of ethnohistorical inquiry, most students will discover that the forming of one or more hypothesis, and their subsequent testing, will not be necessary.

The Use of Documents and Ethnohistory

Most determined investigators will attest to the fact that considerable quantities of unrecorded history lie buried in the attics, basements, and desk drawers of unsuspecting Americans. Exactly what constitutes an ethnohistorical document is difficult to say. Neither anthropologists nor historians have clearly articulated the defining characteristics of these potential data. Louis Gottschalk, et al., in The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology, make note of the fact that,

> The word document has been used by historians in several senses. On the one hand, it is sometimes used to mean any written source of historical information as contrasted with oral testimony or with artifacts, pictorial survivals and archaeological remains. On the other, it is sometimes reserved for only official and state papers such as treaties, laws, grants, deeds, etc. Still another sense is contained in the word documentation, which, as used by the historian inter alios,

> signifies any process of proof based upon any kind of source whether written, oral, pictorial or archaeological (p. 12).

I would include among the list of documents of interest to the ethnohistorian such records as: church records, birth and death certificates, military papers, letters, journals, diaries, and tax receipts. Of course, the kinds of records and their location will depend on what the researcher is attempting to develop. It stands to reason, however, that a great number of Afro-Americans, other minorities, and economically depressed Whites, would tend to be less likely to keep journals or diaries. Yet, surprising numbers of these groups maintained family histories recorded in bibles and in personal correspondence. I have found that if the investigator notifies the informant well in advance of a proposed interview, the informants are usually willing to disclose their personal memorabilia. In any event, attempts must be made by the researcher to encourage people who might have documents of historical interest to allow these records to be observed.

Summary

The procedures and comments I have made above by no means constitute full articulation of ethnohistorical methodology. The student wishing to investigate the literature in the field will, indeed, learn that methodo-

logical field procedures in the area of ethnohistory have been sorely neglected by scholars in both history and anthropology.

The fact remains that if interested students include in their educational backgrounds courses of study from a wide variety of disciplines (i.e., anthropology, history, sociology, statistics, computerology) they will be well on the road toward full participation in an interesting and rewarding field of study.

The data found in Chapters III and IV below are examples of the integration of social statistics and cultural patterns. Hopefully they will provide the reader with both applied methodological procedures and, for those interested, a cultural history of the Afro-American population of Springfield, Massachusetts, before the turn of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER III

APPLIED ETHNOHISTORICAL METHODOLOGY: THE BLACK POPULATION OF SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, 1657-1840

Introduction

The materials presented in Chapter II were designed to acquaint the student with some of the investigatory tools needed to perform systematic ethnohistoric inquiry. However, ethnohistorical research is not just the learning of definitions nor the acquisition and storage of social scientific tools. On the contrary, it involves the bringing together of the esoteric terminology found in most disciplines and the gathering together and the analysis of quantitative and social data to form a cultural/historical survey of a particular ethnic population.

The data presented below are examples of applied ethnohistoric methodologies in monograph form. This monograph shows a variety of procedures commonly found in ethnohistorical field study; yet, it does not attempt to portray every facet of this electic discipline. For example, the reader will discover that very little census data is used in Chapter III. The reason for this is that

the census manuscript schedules prior to 1850 failed to identify Black people by name. Consequently, the statistical data in Chapter III are developed from quantitative totals as opposed to the individual statistical analysis found in Chapter IV.

The reader will also note that the study does not contain any oral history. The major reason for this void is that the author plans a separate study of Afro-American folklore in Springfield, Massachusetts, which will be presented at a later date. One final observation about the monograph should be made: the boundaries of ethnographic inquiry are not and should not be limited to the geographical region under investigation. When one begins to explore an ethnic population in a city or town, for example, he or she will soon discover that the social, the economic, and the political currents which prevailed in the United States and/or the state where the city or town under study lies, will have, to one degree or another, direct bearing on the population being investigated. For this reason, the case study presented below begins by reviewing the colonial involvement of Afro-Americans in Massachusetts before the European settlement of the Springfield area.

Colonial Massachusetts and Servitude

From the moment of its location, the New World and its

vast territories provided the people of Europe hope for relief from oppressive political dictators and religious tyrannies, a way, as it were, for many of them to start anew. These early migrants came to its shores in ever increasing numbers. Settling first along the eastern shore, they created towns, oppressive political dictators, and religious tyrants (Burt: p. 10). They brought with them an ancient sociological system of caste, refined it, and produced a system of perpetual servitude unprecedented in the annals of humankind.

Slavery, perhaps the most heinous crime devised by human beings, was introduced in Massachusetts early in its history. Yet, it was not the Afro-American who first tasted the horrors of slavery in this colony; the American Indian, the native born in the New World, had this doubtful distinction. But this condition of servitude was directly related to, and worked in concert with, the eventual enslavement of the Afro-American.

It can be said with some certainty that the first enslavement of the American Indian by the European took place some time before the establishment of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1629 (Greene: p. 16). Although most historical accounts suggest that the year 1638 witnessed the emergence of the slave trade in Massachusetts, there is some evidence which indicates that in 1615,

> an English slaver, one Captain Thomas Hunt, kidnaped a Patuxet (later called Plymouth) citizen reportedly named Tisquantum and sold him into slavery in Malaga, whence he escaped to England (American Heritage: p. 171).

The institution of servitude in Massachusetts, not unlike that in similar geographic regions in the United States during the Colonial era, was defined in several ways. In its usage, the term "slave was not precisely defined in seventeenth century Massachusetts; its flexible usage permitted several meanings" (Twombley & Moore: p. 110). An individual, in a working sense, could be called "a slave," but he or she might be a servant working for wages or other commodities. This is especially true when one investigates the plight of the thousands of White Europeans classified as "indentured servants." The institution of servitude, however, developed along several lines and functioned differently among the various ethnic groups found in Massachusetts.

The American Indian in Servitude in Massachusetts

The American Indian, the original settler of Massachusetts, was also the original victim of servitude in Massachusetts. However, slavery--a term used by the French and Spanish interchangeably with the word "prisoner"--was not a system introduced with the invasion of White Europeans

(the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University: p. 25). The institution was found to be universally practiced by most of the tribes of North America long before the first White person set foot on these shores (Ibid., p. 27). Yet, several important differences existed in the type of servitude initiated with the coming of the Europeans and the type of bondage practiced by the American Indian.

First, nowhere in the United States did slavery exist on such an extensive scale that some tribes held others in a state of subjugation and demanded servile labor from them (Ibid., p. 25). What was more generally the case was enslavement of individuals or small groups of individuals, for a variety of reasons and the subsequent acculturation of the enslaved persons, in greater or lesser degrees, into the conqueror's tribal organization. Secondly, among the Indians the question of social equality did not determine the relation of the slave to the slave holder. The Indian slaves were reported always to have been eligible for adoption into the tribes as functioning members in order to replete the numbers reduced by war, famine, disease or other causes (Ibid., p. 41). Thirdly, children of slaves were automatically free, because as they "contributed nothing to their creation" (Ibid., p. 42), they were not compelled to receive punishment for the "sins" of their

parents either.

Most Indians who were slave holders acquired their slaves through the numerous intertribal wars which seemed to have plagued the North American Indians prior to the coming of the Europeans. Yet, war was not the only producer of slaves among these people.

> Individual instances of slavery proceeded from other causes. The Indians were inveterate gamblers, and when nothing else was left, both men and women not infrequently staked themselves to serve as slaves in case of loss. Such slavery was sometimes for life, and sometimes for such short periods of time as a year or two. In case of famine, the Indians even sold their children to obtain food (Wissler: p. 26).

By 1630 when the area in and around Boston began to be settled, the institution of slavery among the New England Indians was well entrenched. This situation led one author to suggest that,

> The familiarity of the European who came to America with the institution of slavery, and the finding of the same custom among the Indians themselves, made their carrying on of the practice quite natural (Ibid., p. 46).

Of course, this kind of rationale was one of the grand justifications used by the Euro-Americans to subjugate and slaughter countless Native Americans.

The historical record shows that by the time of the initial contact between the Europeans and the Indians, the Indians were not living along the coastline of Massachusetts.

Although the Indians did perform some fishing as a part of their way of life, their primary mode of subsistence was farming. Thus, the colonist gained an easy foot-hold along the Massachusetts shore-line with little or no hostile activities between the two groups. Yet, only sixteen years after the initial settlement and during the same year William Pynchon and others settled near the Connecticut River, hostilities commenced.

> In 1636 . . . the Massachusetts Bay Puritans sent a force to smite the Indian nation that had become the strongest in New England, a division of the Mohegan known as the Pequot ('destroyers'). The Massachusetts Bay puritans massacred a village, and having thus declared war went back home (The American Heritage: p. 172).

It was not until 1675 that the Narraganset, numerically the most dominant Indian group in New England, and the Pequot, under the direction of King Philip, joined forces and declared war on the Euro-Americans of New England. Although this war (the so-called King Philip's War) lasted only a short period of time (1675-1676) over fifty of New England's towns were razed to the ground, the town of Springfield being included among that number (Wissler: p. 67). However, the end result was the same as the 1636 encounter--the destruction of the New England Indians. From the outset of these hostilities, the Indians had very little chance of winning. The greater numbers and

more efficient organizational structure of the Europeans along with their use of more sophisticated military techniques provided the colonists with an almost assured victory. Yet Clark Wissler suggests that with all of the sophisticated organizational structure of the Puritans, and with all of their guns and swords,

> . . . the deadliest weapons of the white man were his diseases, his demoralizing vices, particularly prostitution and liquor. The first reduced the population to a fragment, the last tended to demoralize and incapacitate the survivors. Even had the Algonkin been more peaceful and the colonists less brutal, disease and vice would have achieved the same result in time (Ibid., p. 64).

Since the institution of slavery had existed prior to both "Indian Wars," cessation of hostilities between the combatants rejuvenated the institution of Indian slavery. Some of the captives of the War were marketed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, primarily women and children. Many of the Indian leaders were executed with small numbers of worriors being sold in the human market places in the West Indies (American Heritage: p. 174).

The enslaved Indians that remained in the Massachusetts colony continued to create uneasy feelings among the colonists, for a number of laws were passed in 1676 and 1677 which clearly articulated the desires of the Europeans to rid themselves of the Indians once and for all. In 1676, for example, laws were passed which prohibited any

male Indian over the age of fourteen from living in the colony (the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University: p. 188). In 1712 a similar law was enacted which prohibited the importation of " . . . any Indian, male or female, by land or sea from any port or place whatever, to be disposed of, sold or left within the province (Ibid., p. 189).

By 1790, however, Massachusetts, along with some of the other New England states, had abolished both slavery and the slave trade within its borders (Greene: p. 77). The number of Indians in Massachusetts was by this time quite small, and since those few who remained were unwilling to accept acculturation or subsequent assimilation on terms acceptable to the Euro-American population, the native American, as a socio-political entity, became virtually extinct. When recollecting the demise of the New England Indian we might look again at the first Massachusetts Bay Colony seal. It depicts an Indian uttering these words, "Come over and help us" (The American Heritage: p. 172). They did!

The large scale importation of White, and to a lesser extent, Black indentured servants caused further diminution of the Indian presence in Massachusetts.

The White European and Servitude in Massachusetts

Economic conditions in Europe during the era of expansion into the New World were grave. England had not yet reached the age of industrial sophistication; indeed, the so-called "industrial revolution" had yet to take place. The cities and towns of Western Europe were filled with throngs of half starved men, women, and children. England, the principal supplier of immigrants to New England, found itself in the position of having " . . . more than half the population decreasing the wealth of the nation, that is, their expenses exceeded their earnings, and the deficiency had to be made up from poor-relief, charity, or plunder" (George: p. 10). England had little or no means of providing for the economically depressed multitudes flooding its major cities: by one method or another, the destitute, the artisan, and the professional were transported to the New World by the thousands. Indeed, the system of indentures predates the founding of Salem, Massachusetts. One hundred and eight White indentured servants, for example, were sent to America to prepare food and homes for the settlers who came to the New World in 1629 (Greene: p. 19).

Basically the Europeans who desired or were forced, for one reason or another, into crossing the Atlantic to

Massachusetts or the other colonies as servants can be classified into three major categories. First, the individuals who contracted their services to persons in the colonies were called "indentured servants." These people were generally bound to service for a specified number of years depending on the location of the colony in which they settled. William Pynchon, as a case in point, not long after the settlement of Springfield, "imported several menservants from England . . . " who were probably indentured for periods ranging from five to nine years (Tomlinson: p. 76). Secondly, those persons who were given passage by ship captains and were subsequently sold by the captain to individuals in the colony were called "redemptioners or free-willers." Thirdly, there were those who were "forced into servitude, such as convicts, fellons, vagrants, and dissolute persons, and those kidnapped or 'spirited' away by the so-called 'spirits' or crimps (Jernegan: p. 48). There is no evidence that large numbers of the convict class immigrated to Massachusetts colonies since, "Massachusetts explained that from their first settlement the government and inhabitants of New England had earnestly desired to be excused from receiving criminals . . . (A. B. Smith: p. 105). Conceivably, few from this third group made their way directly to Massachusetts.

Although the White servant class, after a short period of time, gained their freedom, their social condition was generally not much better than the circumstances from which they had escaped or were "crimped" when in England.

> Harrowing tales of cruelty and abuse of white servants are common, but the same kind of treatment was meted out to servants in England during the same period. In the court records of Middlesex Country, England, 1673, we find that Thomas Tooner was cited to answer to the charge of inhumanly beating his female servant with knotted whip-cords, so that 'the poor servant is a lamentable spectacle to behold' (Jernegan: p. 54).

Greene observed that, " . . . court records offer abundant testimony to cruel usage of indentured servants" in colonial Massachusetts (Greene: p. 19). Greene, as an illustration, submits the case of John Betts of Cambridge, Massachusetts who, "beat his servant, Robert Knight (a White person) to death with a great plough staffe (Ibid., p. 231). The beating "to death" of a servant was generally atypical, yet, the harshness of servitude was by no means the exception. The amount of time and kinds of tasks assigned to the servant often produced tremendous physical and emotional hardships. It was not uncommon, for example, to find large numbers of "run-aways" reported in local newspapers or notices posted in individual Massachusetts towns. In the first Springfield newspaper, The Massachusetts Gazette and Advertiser, a notice for a White runaway servant ran for several issues:

> Ran away from the Subscriber in the night of the 24th last. Stephen Nutchinson, an indented servant. 17 yeras old, near five feet high, light colored eyes and darkish hair he carried way with him one suite of light colored cloaths, a good felt hat, a brown waistcoat, and an old red under ditto, two pair of blue stockings, one of which was seemed, and two pair of shoes, one check wollen shirt, and one linin ditto, and other articles. All persons are here by forbid harbouring, entertaining or serving the said Stephan, or conveying him away by water or otherwise. Whoever will take him up and bring him to me, shall have three shillings reward and necessary charges paid (p. 3).

In the larger, more populous towns like Boston, this kind of advertisement was repeated in almost every newspaper edition during the colonial period.

Although providing the necessary labor ingredients, the presence of the White indentured servant created problems: in the economic scenario of Massachusetts throughout most of the colonial era, the difficulties brought about because of manumission at the end of the indenture contract coupled with the persistent attempts to escape their socio-economic condition were primary reasons for the eventual decline in this form of servitude and the concomitant increase in the perpetual enslavement of the Afro-American.

The Afro-American and Servitude in Massachusetts

The first recorded account of Black people arriving

in Massachusetts as slaves is found in a statement written by Governor John Winthrop which states that: "Mr. Peirce, in the Salem ship, the Desire, returned from the West Indies after seven months. He had been at Providence, and brought some cotton, and tobacco, and negroes" . . . (Hosmer: p. 260). When the Desire sailed, in that fateful year, it carried among its cargo American Indians captured in the so-called "Pequot War of 1637." Ironically, two distinct races of mankind--the American Indian and the African--through the barbarity of a third--the White European--for a short period of time, made their initial imperceptible contact in the dark holds of vessels, both being removed from the ancestral home lands to the uncertainty of compulsory enslavement.

Although it has been argued that slavery was never legally sanctioned in Massachusetts (Morris: p. 217), the Body of Liberties, created in Massachusetts in 1641, proclaimed that slavery could exist among, " . . . strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us . . . "; this was indeed the legal instrument which provided for Massachusetts' official recognition of perpetual servitude (Jordan: p. 68).

Throughout the colonial era, Black and Indian servitude functioned integrally within the sociological confines of Massachusetts law. In structure and content the law

attempted to provide certain rights for the enslaved, provisions which were in keeping with "the Law of God established in Israel."

> Central to the maintenance of order and stability in any society is the administration of justice. This was particularly true in Massachusetts where respect for the law as primary in the colonists' conception of a vigorous, stable, and godly society. A profound commitment to the law and the judicial process overpowered antipathetical racial views and assured fair and equal treatment, guaranteeing the basic legal rights of Englishmen to free, servant, and slave Negroes. These rights--including police protection, legal counsel, trial by jury, fair and considered hearings, and impartial justice--are very much expected in twentieth century. In the seventeenth they were incipient concepts in much of the western world. But Massachusetts guarded these liberties jealously, applying them without regard for skin color (Twombley and Moore: p. 111).

It is worth noting also that the Puritans' sense of social justice was not "advanced" either since we all are aware of the essential inequalities written into these early statutes: servants, women, children and male non-property owners were among those disfranchised numbers of Puritan society. Nonetheless, the meting out of punishment or exoneration from culpability was administered rather evenly without regard to race within the framework of statutory law at that time.

Since the Black population in Massachusetts prior to the turn of the eighteenth century never exceeded three

percent of the total population, the Purtains felt that they could allow much latitude in their institutional dealings with the people of color among them. In a number of instances the Afro-American, in fact, served in the condition of indentured servant as opposed to slave. The historical record abounds with data which shows that Black people were not only receiving training but were also acquiring land, money, and social recognition. Most students of American history have become aware of names like Crispus Attucks, Phyllis Wheatley, and Paul Cuffe, all of whom resided in, and made a significant social mark on Massachusetts during the colonial era (Nell: pp. 2-118).

Although Massachusetts passed laws prohibiting the arming of Black and Indian people, the Revolutionary War provided the people of color with opportunities to both aid in the colonists' rebellious confrontation with England and to destroy the last vestiges of perpetual slavery in the Commonwealth; by 1790, the year of the first federal census, no slaves were reported in the state (Twombley and Moore: p. 121).

The Afro-American in Springfield, Massachusetts

The area along the Connecticut river where the city of Springfield now stands was originally inhabited by a number of independent tribes of Algonquin-speaking Indians;

prominent among them were the Agawam (from whence the initial name of the settlement derived), the Woronoco, the Nonotucks at Northampton and Hadley, the Pocomtucks at Deerfield, and the Squakheags at Northfield (Holland: p. 74). Except for studies of the "wars" fought against the Indians, little or no anthropological investigation has been undertaken concerning these local original Americans. The fragmented written historical accounts give little indication of the Indian's beliefs or life-style. Instead, these accounts show the kind of overt bigotry which seems to typify the writings of Euro-Americans toward non-European types. A perfect example of this is found in the contempt shown for the Indian by Mason A. Green in his historical account of Springfield:

> The inevitable tendency of a strong race to make headway against an inferior one was apparent right here in Springfield. William Pynchon soon found, in dealing with the Indians, that they were lazy, unreliable, and quick to take offence. Their vengeful disposition, coupled with their secretive ways and their long memory of slights, soon caused Pynchon to avoid employing them as much as possible. He even refused to use them as messengers and scouts, when white troopers were within call. Indians would loiter by the way, and were not above breaking their word. Nor did they come up to the English standard of personal tidiness. If they had not been probed by the sharp rod of the white man's law, they would have been content to stroll about these streets and live off alms at the back doors of this plantation. Our Agawams and our Woronocos, like all the Algonquin tribes, were accustomed

> to subjugation. They gave tribute to the Six Nations, and no doubt looked upon the whites as a relief, and they preferred to pay out their wampum to a race more worthy (Mason A. Green: p. 148).

His reporting of history shows the all too familiar racial characterizing which led to an explanation of social behavior on the bases of racially inferior or superior types. And as we all should know by now it was the unusual American historian (poet, novelist) who did not theorize from an acceptance of the theory that African or native American were inferior to Whites. On the other hand the paucity of recorded data requires the use of Green's evidence without accepting his bias or necessarily his interpretation of the data.

Similar recorded accounts to the one quoted above bear witness to the presence of Black people in the Connecticut valley. There is, however, one distinct difference: namely, the historical records of Springfield, over longer periods of time, show clearer evidence of the Afro-American's continuing and persistent involvement. These records indicate that the first Black people to appear in the written documents came into the area in some form of servitude, probably as indentured servants; that is, in service for a specified period of time. Just what the term "indentured servant" might have meant in Springfield during the colonial era, in actual working terminology, is unclear.

However, some indication of the kind of reception Black people received in Springfield during the early periods might be observed by isolating the first Black people identified in Springfield.

The first Blackman identified by town records of Springfield is Peter Swinke (Swinck, Swing, Swynk, Swinke) "a colored servant of Capt. (John) Pynchon" (Burt: p. 44). Although this source indicates that Peter Swinck first appeared in Springfield in 1659, I believe that he might have been in town at least two years before that date. My argument rests on this evidence: The birth and death records show that Swinck had two children, Abraham, a son born in Springfield in 1659, the year that Peter Swinck is first named on the historical record, and a daughter, Susannah, born in 1661. This source lists the "Early Inhabitants" according to the year the inhabitant's name appears on any official town document; in this case it would be in 1659, the year that Abraham was born. The author states that:

> Where the precise date of any settler's arrival could not be ascertained, the year given in connection with his name refers to the first mention of it in the records, but his coming here could not have been long prior to it (Ibid., p. 40).

I believe Swinck may have arrived in town in 1657 when John Leonard noted in his account book that he had received

seven pounds six pense from John Pynchon for " . . . bring up my negroes. . . . " (Thomlinson: p. 72). Although no record exists showing the names of "my negroes," the fact that no Black people are observed living in the town prior to 1657, leads me to believe that the history of the Afro-American people in Springfield begins in that year.

Swinck's wife Mary (also called Mariah) was probably among this same group. Yet, the only reference to her is, "Widow Mary Swinke - Relict of Peter, d(ied) 24 Nov 1708." I would assume that they came into the town man and wife, since no record exists showing that their marriage took place in Springfield. However, one or two observations might be rendered concerning this point. First, there were no official sanctions against people in servitude marrying; yet, no records can be found showing Peter and Mary marrying. It would be highly unlikely that Pynchon would have allowed any resident whether "freeman" or "bondsman/slave" to cohabit and/or procreate without church sanction; the Pynchon Court Records of September 24, 1661, bears out this point. One of the cases heard that day concerned a White couple:

> Samuell Terry and his wife beinge presented for that they beinge marryed on the 3d of January last they had a Son born the 10th of the 5th month beinge about 12 weeks short of the ordinary time of womens goinge with child: This Corte concludes it manifest that they did abuse one another before marriage:

> and therefore did adjudge Samuell Terry for his offence and misdemeanor eyther to pay as a fine to the County the summe of 4 (pounds) to be paid with 20 dayes or that he and his wife should be whipt on their naked bodyes with 10 lashes appiece: Samuel Terry chusing the punishment by fyne: his choyce was accepted (Smith: p. 255).

There is no reason to suspect that the court punishment meted out to this couple would not be the same for a Black couple had Peter and Mary's son been born too soon after the ordinary time of " . . . womens goinge with child. . . . " On the contrary, a

> . . . review of legal cases (in Massachusetts) indicated that throughout the seventeenth century the Negro received due process and only in isolated incidents . . . was he given unusual treatment. . . . In general, the Negro held the rights of Englishmen before the courts. The legal apparatus did not undergo subtle shifts when Negroes came before it (Twombley and Moore: p. 118).

An opposing argument to the suggestion that the Swinck's union adhered to the customs of the times would be, of course, that no record was ever made of this union or that the record which would provide evidence of their marriage has been, over time, lost.

The Swincks, like the Afro-Americans that were to follow them, probably resided in the homes of their "owners" or in small cabins on their "owner's" land. For Peter, however, this situation did not last long. Although he was politically disenfranchised, he managed to acquire,

considering the historical era, relatively large amounts of land. For example, there is recorded in the town documents for 6 January 1662, the following entry:

> Theres grannted to Peter Swink, Capt Pynchons Servant y^{t} vacant land y^{t} lyes between the gen^{r}ll fence y^{t} runs from y^{e} great River to Agawam River & Goodm: Muns lott Southward: this lott is to run 80 rod westward from the high way by y^{e} River: & is granted on condition y^{t} he live till his tyme be expired & that he Settle his abode there vizt on y^{e} Said lott (Burt: p. 302).

Two years later he was again granted another allotment of land: "Ffebruary the 11: 1666. Theres granted to Peter Swink 20 Acres of land neere block bridge above Obadiah Millers land: . . . " (Ibid., p. 358). On "ffeb^{r} 12th 1668." the following entry appears:

> Peter Swink desiring some land to make meddow off lying over y^{e} Brooke on y^{e} Northerly side of his land at Block brooke. There is sixe or seven acres of Low meddowish land Granted to him, w^{ch} is to be liad out to him on y^{e} Northerly side of Block brook ag^{t} his former grant of Thirty acres of Land there, & adjoyning to it: Provided it may be Lawfull for y^{e} Inhabitants to make use of Timber Trees, that grow in his 30 acrs formerly granted him. While it lys Comon, or till it shall be Impved or fenced in, in p^{t}, some acres, at least Two, till they y^{e} Timber to be common for y^{e} neighbors there & upon this condition y^{t} he allow of the taking of Timber out of his former 30 acrs till impvm^{t} as aforesd: he hath the grant of y^{e} 6 or seven acrs of meddowish land as abovesd And he is spedlly to declare whether he acept this grant on the condition specified, That y^{e} Liberty for y^{e} Inhabitants to make use of the Timber Trees y^{t} are growing there may be know. . . He accepted of this Grant on y^{e}

> Tearmes mentioned for y^e^ Inhabitants to make use of Timber till he fence in pt (Ibid., p. 373).

Finally on "August 20th 1672." he petitioned for six more acres with the following action: "Granted Peter Swink 6 Acres of land adjoyning to his other land at Block bridge" (Ibid., p. 402). These allotments of land were in two different locations; the first 80 rods (440 feet) was in the general location of West Springfield and can be identified by locating Benjamin Munn's property on Appendix A (indicated by an arrow) and the second allotment was made in the general area of what later would be called "Sargent Street" (also indicated by an arrow on Appendix A). Peter Swinck, after living in Springfield for approximately forty-two years, died in 1699, a relatively land rich individual.

Another example of the early socio-economic conditions in which the early Black residents found themselves is the case of Roco, another of Pynchon's indentures. Exactly when he became bonded to Pynchon is not known. Available information concerning him does, however, give some insight into two important aspects of Black Springfield life history. First, Roco's initial appearance in the historical record concerns his involvement in the Pynchon Court.

> John Riley of Springfield was also bound by Pynchon in the sum of twenty pounds for his daughter Margarite's appearance at the same (1680) court to answer to her foul Crime of Fornication. The court, 'being desirous to

> beare due Testimony against this Growing and provoking sin of whoredom and to restrain the like abhorend practices,' order the offender forthwith whipped with fifteen lashes and receive a further fifteen stripes when Pynchon saw cause to have them inflicted or to pay a fine of four pounds to the county. Roco, a Negro, being examined by Major Pynchon, acknowledged to him and later to the court that he had (upon the said Riley's tempting him) the carnal knowledge of her body and was sentenced to fifteen lashes or pay a fine of three pounds (Smith: p. 105).

The case involving Roco and Margarite illustrates two aspects of the legal practices of the times: almost invariably punishment was unacceptably harsh when judged by today's standards. More important to this study, though, is the evidence that severe judgments were handed down to Whites and Blacks alike for similar transgressions. Although the small number of similar cases reported prevents complete analysis of the equality of Roco's punishment, the fact that he received similar treatment to the women involved in the case would indicate that the prescribed sentence for particular crimes was administered evenly, for just a few years later a White man from Northampton was found guilty of "abusing the little maide Mary Bennet" and he was given twenty lashes across his back (Ibid., p. 106).

The other noteworthy factor in the appearance of Roco in the historical record of Springfield is the evidence of his indenture (see Appendix B). Information appears here

on the kind of work some of the indentures were engaged in and an indication of the wages paid for their services. In these documents, Pynchon states, "That for his & his wifes freedoms which is to be absolute upon his paying me . . . " Roco's wife, Sue and he were able, through tremendously difficult circumstances, to acquire their freedom which was to be "absolute." Included in this "freedom package" was another of Pynchon's indentures, Richard Blackleech (Negro Dick).

Another interesting observation is the obvious trust Pynchon had in Roco. In Pynchon's account book he makes note of the fact that Roco had been working at the sawmill and that, " . . . he hath beene there (with my horse) 3 compleate days. . . . " The fact that Roco did not run away and gain his independence in 1684, ten years before being granted freedom, is an interesting phenomenon. Although there are records indicating that Black indentures and/or perpetual slaves were escaping from nearby towns, there is no evidence present that suggests that Black people in Springfield made any attempts to follow suit; this, however, does not mean that attempts were not made. Perhaps the fate of an escaping slave from Wethersfield in 1681 and tried in the Pynchon Court might have had some influence on the decision of the Black indentures of Springfield. The incident, dated "July .1. 1681" is

recorded as follows:

> A Negroe who says his Name is Jack, being sent for and examened saith That he came from Wethersfield and is Run away from Mr. Samuell Wolcot because he always beates him sometimes with 100 blows so that he hath told his Master that he would sometime or other hang himselfe he says he ran away from him one weeke halfe since: He says he stole a Gun at the next Towne viz Southfield and hath left it in the woods he laid it downe in a Path because it had noe flint in it: Anthony Dorchester saith That to day about noone this Negroe came to his howse and after asking for a Pipe of Tobacco which I told him there was some on the Table he tooke my knife and Cut some and then put it in his pocket, and after that tooke downe a Cutlass and offered to draw it but it coming out stiff I closed in upon him and so. . . . Bound him with the help of my wife and daughter and searching found my knife naked in his Pocket which he would fain have got out but I prevented him and tooke it away: I committed the Negroe to Prison there to remaine and be safely secured till discharged by Authority (Ibid., p. 214).

What eventually became of Jack is unclear. He did remain in Springfield in custody of the prison keepers for almost four months (Ibid., p. 299). Whether he was returned to Wethersfield after this period of incarceration was never recorded.

Throughout most of the early colonial periods Springfield remained an area sympathic to the persons escaping the rigors of institutional bondage.

> This sympathy for the slave, fleeing from bondage, was often manifested among the people of this valley years before the odious fugitive slave law developed the feeling so fully at the North, and established lines of

> underground railway to Canada through every New England state. With all their respect for the law, it was difficult for our people to repress their sympathy with any poor struggler for freedom, and choke down their impulse to lend him a helping hand (Moore: p. 213).

However, when the escaping slaves arrived in town and settled, they were still less than full partners in the everyday functioning of the town; yet, before the law they were able to acquire a measure of safety in their quest for survival. Some were allowed a degree of social acceptance in that the Church allowed for the solemnization of birth, death, and marriage (see Appendix C). In at least one case, a Black person, Peter Swinck, as early as 1659, was given a permanent seat in the town meeting house (Burt: p. 127). Time and a scanty historical record have obscured the reason why he was allowed accommodations when other Black people were apparently ignored.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the Black population of Springfield had grown to thirty-nine. The battle for control of the infant colonies was about to begin; yet, "slavery" still existed in Springfield and other towns in Massachusetts (Green: p. 279). As late as 1783, advertisements appeared in The Massachusetts Gazette and General Advertiser, the first newspaper printed in Springfield, listing runaway slaves. A search of all available copies of this paper proved that it had no

occasion to carry advertisements concerning Springfield slaves or indentures; the vast majority of these articles were concerned with the escape of Black people from Connecticut to Massachusetts.

December 9, 1783

Ran away from the subscriber a Negro Man, called Pero, 19 years of age, speaks good English, about 5 feet 10 inches high wide check bones, large eyes, wide shoulders, lame in his right foot- had on when he went away a mixt dark colored greatcoat, a light colored gray waistcoat and trowsers, a striped flannel shirt, white stockings, new shoes, new felt hat, a bolland shirt. Whoever will take up said Negro and return him or secure him in any goal, so that the owner may have him again, shall have fifteen dollars reward and necessary charges paid by me.

(signed) Nathan Craft
Groton, N. London County, Nov. 26

In another case, the entire slave family escaped:

September 3, 1783

Run away from the subscriber on Saturday night last, a negro man named TACK, about 25 years of age, middling stature, likely, active and well made, was born and brought up in this town, he had with him all his cloaths, among which were a white broad cloth coat turned up with blue, made short, a scarlet cassimer coat, cankeen vest and breeches, blue cordaroy breeches, white shirt, two cloth trowsers, check'd home-spun shirt, and claret colored coat and beaver hat, half worn, he plays well on the flute or fife. -- he went off in company with a negro wench of Mr. Platt's of this town, who carried her cloths and female child, she is about 40 years old, thick and fleshy and pretends to be his wife. Whoever will take up and bring said fellow to the subscriber shall be paid TEN DOLLARS reward and reasonable charges.

(signed) Thomas Seymour
Hartford

Two important factors should be of special note when reading these reward notices. First, the seemingly high escape rate of Black slaves from Connecticut to Massachusetts prompted slave owners to advertise in Springfield and other towns sympathetic to the Afro-American. Massachusetts, confronted with a relatively large number of runaways, eventually passed a law prohibiting its citizenry, especially, " . . . the Master(s) of any ship, sloop, ketch or vessel . . . " from bringing into, or taking out of the colony any refugees (Greene: p. 128).

> Ten years later . . . Connecticut followed with a more comprehensive law, by the terms of which all Negro and Indian servants were forbidden to wander beyond the town limits, or places where they belonged, without a ticket or a pass either from some authority or from their master (Ibid., p. 128).

These laws had the effect of preventing many of the escaping slaves from remaining in Springfield and other Massachusetts towns for prolonged periods of time, but seemed to have very little effect on discouraging the escapees from crossing over into Massachusetts and subsequently into Canada.

Secondly, it is interesting to note the description of the apparel worn by the escapees. In almost every case, the runaways were reported to have carried with them all of their clothing, among which seems to have been a wide variety of shoes, coats, and shirts which would have been

necessary if one was to survive the harshness of the New England winters. Most authorities seem to agree that the Afro-Americans tended to receive a larger amount and a better quality of clothing than their White indentured servant counterparts; the primary explanation they offer is that the Afro-American unused to the extreme cold climates was much more susceptible to colds and related diseases than the White European immigrant. Since the cost of Black slaves tended to reach an exorbitant price, precautionary measures, in the form of adequate clothing and sufficient food, were usually the rule rather than the exception in Massachusetts (Ibid., p. 146).

The exodus of Black men and women into Massachusetts prior to the Civil War increased yearly, with one noted exception. This population, especially that portion which had escaped from bondage in neighboring states, seemed to exhibit strong tendencies toward geographic mobility; that is, the numbers of Afro-Americans appearing on town enumerations were seldom consistent. Two major reasons might be suggested as to why. First, the rather simplistic nature of the census enumeration of these early towns prohibited exact census measurements. There were no national requirements for census making until the first Federal census of 1790. Even then the problems of enumerating people who lived a number of miles on the outskirts of the town or on

the very fringes of the political boundaries, were greatly increased. If, for example, a family lived ten miles outside the center of town and employed or "owned" several indentured servants or slaves, the chances were not good that the servants and/or slaves would be enumerated on the census. The major reason for this seems to be that, prior to the Federal census of 1790, the servant or slave was considered chattel and were thus enumerated along with the "Horses and Hogs" (Jordan: p. 232).

However, before leaving the question of the defective nature of the census enumeration of Afro-Americans in Springfield, one interesting side light was recorded by Mason Green. Upon the death of John Pynchon in 1703, the inventory of his estate listed among his belongings one, "Negro man Servant" valued at ten pounds, and one, "Negro maid Servant" valued at thirty pounds (Green: p. 205), both obviously to be inherited by Pynchon's survivors. In discussing the inventory of Pynchon's estate, the author makes specific mention of the "Negro man Servant." He states that,

> The negro servant in the above list of valuables was the slave Tom who lived to a good old age,--our local uncle Tom, in fact, but his lines fell in pleasanter places. One with a fancy for contrasts may turn from the rich apparel of Master Pynchon to the simple record of Black Tom's outfit: 'A parcel of old cloathing of Black Tom negroe, 10s.' The digging of Tom's grave cost 3d.; and

> while there were no troopers to attend the last rites, the servants and slaves upon the Pynchon estate were given one quart of rum to drink to his memory (Ibid., p. 206).

In one of the few records which affords insight into the clothing of the Black slaves in Springfield, mention is made of "A parcel of old cloathing of Black Tom negroe . . . " worth only ten shillings. Since we have no data to compare the worth of his apparel with that of other slaves or semi-slaves, it is very difficult to determine how meager Tom's wardrobe actually was. Certainly it was most deficient in quantity and quality when compared with that of Pynchon; yet, that was and is to be expected.

I would argue, in face of the scarcity of recorded data on the subject, that any enumeration of the Springfield population for this period would not have recognized the existence of either the man, Tom, or his wife, or those other "servants and slaves upon the Pynchon estate." Consequently, all attempts at recording the numbers of Black people in Springfield prior to 1790 must surely be viewed with suspicion.

Besides the simplistic methods of taking these early census, the second proposed explanation for the seemingly high rate of turnover for the Black population in Springfield is found in the fact that very often the names of the Black people in town were constantly changing. This might be accounted for by the fact that throughout most of

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries little care was given to the standardization in spelling of names. A perfect example of this is found in tracing the first Black individuals located in the historical record of Springfield. Peter Swinck's surname, for example, was spelled in a number of different ways; Swinck, Swing, Swinke, Swynk were just a few of the ways his name appears in the record. Very often a Black person was not known to have a surname but instead would have prefixed or suffixed to his or her name the title "Negro" as in "Negro Betty" or "Betty Negro." In the case of a man it might read "Black Tom, Negro Tom, or Tom Negro." It seems that it was not until the nineteenth century that surnames became a standard part of the Black population's identity. One can only speculate about the frequency with which Blacks dropped their slave names and, as with Frederick Douglass in the nineteenth century, took names which both protected from persecution and provided them pleasanter associations.

Perhaps, more basic to the central question of Black population turnover in Springfield might be that the population did indeed move in and out of the town in rapid fashion. The town laws were not sympathetic to unemployed persons, whether Black or White. Green states that, "All idle or strolling Negroes were . . . sent to the work-house" (Ibid., p. 367). Since the vast majority of the

slave and/or indenture "owners" were the economically well-to-do, it would seem reasonable to assume that as the numbers of Afro-Americans increased, the ability to acquire employment decreased, an economic fact which would account for the volatile nature of the population. More will be said about this theory later.

The records of census distribution for Springfield show that only one-third of the Black population enumerated on the 1765 census was reported on the 1790 census. Keeping in mind the problems of census enumeration outlined above, one more consideration must be observed: namely, the effects of the Revolutionary War period on the Afro-American in Springfield specifically and Massachusetts in general.

Much has been written about Black people in the conflict between the colonies of America and their European overseers. Names like Crispus Attucks, Prince Whipple, and Peter Salem, have, to one degree or another, graced the pages of American historiography for many years. Yet, many courageous Afro-Americans, through malignant neglect or racism never received the benefits of historical recognition. There is no doubt of the active participation of Black people in this military conflict. Greene, for example, states that:

> The New England Negroes played their greatest military role in the American Revolution.

> When Paul Revere and William Dawes aroused the Massachusetts countryside on that memorable night of April 18, 1775, they called Negro as well as white Minutemen to the defense of American liberties. Along with Colonel Parker, Colonel John Nixon, Captain Simon Edgehail, Warren and Prescott, went the Negroes Peter Salem of Framingham, Job Potomea and Isaiah Barjohah of Stoneham, Cuff Whitmore of Cambridge, Prince of Brookline, and Pompey of Braintree. On the next day embattled whites and Negroes gathered on Lexington Common and struck the first blow for American Independence. All of these Negroes joined the Minutemen before April 18, 1775, Lemuel Haynes of Connecticut enlisting as early as 1774. In all it is recorded that some 3,000 Negroes fought in the American ranks during the Revolution (Greene: p. 190).

In western Massachusetts precious little is known about the Black population's involvement in the Revolutionary War; yet, I find it very difficult to believe that slaves were armed and placed into colonial army ranks in the other regions of Massachusetts but not in Springfield and the surrounding areas. When pieced together, the history of the local areas does provide proof that people of color in the Connecticut Valley did participate in this conflict. The exact extent of this participation is probably lost to the intellectual darkness of history. Several examples, though, of Black people serving in the Revolutionary War from the Connecticut Valley are worth mentioning.

Professor Kaplan records that Elizabeth Freeman, the Blackwoman commonly referred to as Mum Bett who " . . .

struck the death blow of slavery in Massachusetts," lost her husband in the Revolutionary War (Kaplan: p. 216). Sheffield, the home of this Black family, less than fifty miles from Springfield, had at least this one known Black warrior. Another case involving a Blackman in the area of Western Massachusetts serves to explain two distinct points. First, Black people from the area immediately around Springfield served in the Revolutionary War; and secondly, at least one of these Afro-Americans was forced to endure tumultuous experiences because of the practices which encompassed Black servitude in this region.

In 1806 a case was heard in Worcester, Massachusetts, which shed a great deal of light on the absurdity and inhumaneness of slavery. The town of Winchendon, in the north central part of the state, brought legal suit against the town of Hatfield to determine which town had the responsibility for a Blackman, Edom London, living in the town of Winchendon. The court, in attempting to establish the sequence of events which led up to the law suit, recorded the events which are outlined below en seriatim:

Edom London

1757, owned by Samuel Bond and sold by Bond to William Williams of Weston;

1760, inherited by Williams' daughter, Mrs. Oliver Partidge of Hatfield

1767, sold to John Ingersoll, Esq., of Westfield;

1769, sold to Joshua Holcomb of Simsburg, Connecticut;

1773, sold to William Bond of Lincoln, Massachusetts;

----, He remained with Bond for a short time and was then sold to Mr. Cowden of Fitchburg;

----, A few Years before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he was again sold to Mr. Stimson of Winchendon;

----, He ran away from Stimson and enlisted in the Revolutionary Army at Cambridge and served eight months;

----, Prior to being released from the service Stimson found out where he was and sold him to Mr. Sawyer of Winchendon;

----, In a short time he was sold to Mr. Goodridge of Winchendon;

----, In 1776, he again enlisted in the Army, this time serving for three years;

Henry Morris, President of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society, in 1881, in discussing the events which led up to the court case, remarked,

> Thus, this man (London) after having been the slave of eleven different masters, and been sold from one to another until the list grew to be almost as long as a Scotch pedigree, and having served for years in the armies of his country, at last drifts into a poor-house,

> and lives and dies a pauper, and two towns go to law to get rid of the burden of his support (Moore: p. 216).

Of course not all Black minutemen received a similar fate. Many, at the conclusion of hostilities, received their freedom and settled in towns where land and employment were made available to them. Perhaps, in the relatively near future, additional investigation will disclose the actual role Black people in Springfield played during the Revolutionary conflict. Until such historical explorations have exhausted the data, the study of Springfield remains unfinished business.

After the turn of the nineteenth century, the number of Black people in Springfield began to increase. From the time of the first location of Afro-Americans in town, there has never been a period, according to the records, in the history of Springfield, when Black people were not present. Yet, the laws prohibiting the importation of slaves were well established in the state:

> On March 26, 1788, the Massachusetts General Court, having the previous day banned citizens of the state from engaging in the slave traffic and having tendered relief to families of kidnapped Negroes, passed an 'act for suppressing and punishing of Rogues, Vagabonds, common Beggars, and other idle, disorderly, and lewd Persons' which provided that no 'African or Negroe, other than a subject of the Emperor of Morocco, or a citizen of some one of the United States; to be evidenced by a certificate from the Secretary of the State of which he shall be

> a citizen shall tarry within this Commonwealth, for a longer time than two months' (Jordan: p. 410).

Clearly then, the increase in Black population was almost entirely due to rise in the number of runaway slaves.

Perhaps the runaway who received the most local attention was the woman who managed to find her way safely to Springfield from Schenectady, New York. The known story begins in Schenectady where Jenny, a Black slave woman, was held in perpetual bondage by her so-called owner, Peter Van Geyseling. Somehow Jenny, along with her young son, probably armed with nothing but a very strong desire to escape the degradation of enslavement, traveled more than a hundred miles, more than likely on foot, to Springfield. Once in town she managed to acquire small jobs washing clothes and cleaning houses for local residents. On September 26, 1802 she was married by Rev. Bezaleel Howard, minister of First Church in Springfield, to a man commonly called "Old Jack" who was reported to have been a slave in Longmeadow. However, since slavery had been abolished in Massachusetts for almost twenty years, it is more likely that he was an indentured servant or freeman. They were able to survive for six years without any recordable incidents. Probably in the latter months of 1807 or the first month of 1808, Van Geyseling heard that Jenny was living in Springfield and made his appearance in town

armed with a warrant for her arrest. However, because of the anti-slavery sentiment which seems to have existed in town, a number of residents, both Black and White, met with Van Geyseling and agreed to "buy" Jenny, or, as she was also called, "Dinah," from him. The hand-written document, The Springfield Bill of Sale, thought at one time to be lost, is on file in the Connecticut Valley Historical Museum in Springfield (see Appendix D).

This document besides being quite unique in Springfield, affords the interested reader a view of the town leaders (Hooker, Dwight and Bliss were town selectmen) and other anti-slavery residents who responded to the appeal of an escaped Black slave who was being forced back into bondage. The local citizens, in effect, formed a committee, headed by Rev. Howard, the man who had married Jenny and Jack six years before the appearance of Van Geyseling, to determine what they might do to prevent Jenny's return into captivity. After meeting several times with Van Geyseling, agreement was finally reached which stated that the Springfield Committee would pay one hundred dollars to Van Geyseling for which he was to sign a bill of sale relinquishing any further claim to Jenny's services. Jenny and her family are said to have lived the remainder of their lives in the area of Springfield which, during most of the nineteenth century, was called "Hayti," in a house near

what would later be called Mason Street.

The most interesting question posed by the Springfield Bill of Sale is why any compensation was ever paid to Van Geyseling since the institution of slavery had been abolished in New York in 1799, sixteen years after similar action by Massachusetts and nine years before the date on the bill of sale. The answer obviously lies in the enactment of the notorious Fugitive Slave Law of 1793. That law stated that:

> No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due (Fishel: p. 63).

This Federal law, superseding all local or state anti-slavery laws, permitted any would-be "propietor" like Van Geyseling to cross state or territorial boundaries, apprehend another human, and hold that person in servitude.

The years following the incident with Van Geyseling witnessed the growth of the Black population in the "Hayti" area of Springfield. One can only speculate about the reasons for calling this particular area of town by that name, but the obvious assumption would be that during the early part of the nineteenth century most of the Black people in Springfield lived in this area of the city. Since it was probably comprised of small, non-descript,

poorly constructed cabins or as they were sometimes called "huts," the most poor people could afford, it received the name of the country Haiti, which, according to historical evidence, displayed similar sociological characteristics. The geographic boundaries were thought to be "from State Street, northerly to and perhaps beyond Bay Street, and from Catherine Street to Thompson Street. It was diversified by yellow pine trees and negro cabins. . . . " (Wright: p. 849). The area north of State Street and east of Thompson Street was also referred to as "Jamaica" probably for similar reasons.

Perhaps the most characteristic landmarks in the entire area were the two lakes which were located close to State Street and north of Winchester Park. These lakes, called singularly "Goose Pond" or "Lake Como," although they were separate bodies of water connected by a small stream, remained distinct features of this area until the 1870's when John and William McKnight and Tilly Haynes, three White speculators, invested their resources and drained the lakes for housing developments. The entire area where Hayti, Jamaica, and the lakes were found, has been referred to ever since as the "McKnight District" of Springfield.

Although the Black population of this area was said to have been considerable, the actual numbers were probably not very large. The census of 1830 shows that the Black

population of Springfield was only 48. It seems reasonable to conclude from the data available, that most of the Black people in the city and those who were to migrate here prior to 1840, tended to settle in this area; but, as time went on, and the numbers of Black migrants increased, the Black population shifted its location to the near south-end of town. This period in which this increase in Black population occurred, 1840 to 1880, can best be called the beginning of the modern era of Black development in the city.

CHAPTER IV

APPLIED ETHNOHISTORICAL METHODOLOGY: THE BLACK POPULATION OF SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, 1841-1880

The two decades prior to the Civil War were financially prosperous years for the geographical regions of Springfield and western Massachusetts. New businesses opened yearly, with wide social, political, and economic implications for those residents who were fortunate enough to possess the capital to participate monetarily or the skills to capitalize on the increased opportunities. The establishment of railroad lines connecting Springfield with larger marketplaces like Boston, Worcester, Albany, and Hartford played no small part in this boom.

The creation of a larger and more heavily financed business community in Springfield gave birth to greater demands for labor and services. In the 1840's alone, well over two thousand people were employed in the local manufacturing industries (Green: p. 443). Another indicator of the economic progression in Springfield was shown in the sharp rise in agricultural production, which increased almost twenty percent above the output of the previous decade (Ibid., p. 469). Michael Frisch states that,

> . . . Springfield in the 1840's and 1850's had quite suddenly become an exciting and bustling town, its prosperity not limited to a narrowly defined manufacturing or trade specialty, but diversified among a wide variety of mercantile, industrial, and professional activities. Moreover, it had won an image throughout New England as a dynamic place, where a career could be made in technology, factory or finance. Accordingly, it attracted the educated and the well born along with the unskilled laborer seeking employment. One would hardly know it from present day Springfield, a struggling city fallen upon slack years in this century of the great metropolis, but the mid-nineteenth century town was among New England's brightest beacons, a symbol of the progress and opportunities that men identified with America's future (p. 22).

Among the group of unskilled workers Frisch refers to would be the increased numbers of Black fugitive slaves migrating into town. The national census for 1830 showed only forty-eight Afro-Americans in Springfield; yet, only ten years later, 101 Blacks were enumerated, an increase of 48 percent.

These figures are, of course, quite small. The total population of Springfield in 1830 was well over six thousand. By 1840, it had grown to almost eleven thousand, an increase of approximately 62 percent. Yet, when the Black population is isolated from the total population, the numbers are indicative of the constant movement of Black men and women, vacating the oppressiveness of forced servitude and concomitantly searching for freedom in the North. To aid the flight of the Black escapees, the

TABLE 1

SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS CENSUS 1765-1840[a]

	1765	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total Population in Town	2,755	1,574	2,312	2,767	3,914	6,784	10,985
Total Black Population in Town[b]	39	13	18	47	48	48	101
Black Population in Hampden County	112	243	215	303	306	347	312

[a]Lorenzo Johnston Green, The Negro in Colonial New England 1620-1776 (New York: Kennikat Press, 1942), p. 81.

[b]United States Census Manuscript Schedules.

residents of Springfield and Hampden county created, as early as 1838, the county's first anti-slavery society (Green: p. 442). Within this organization, Black and White abolitionists joined forces, probably in rather small numbers at first, to give birth to the unofficial agency which was to conduct the escapees northward into Canada. Mason Green observed that,

> In 1847 (Dr.) Osgood, Mr. Calhoun, Rufus Elmer, and a local negro preacher secured a house situated in the woods at Brightwood, for the shelter of fugitives. Parties had unloaded by night in Worthington grove, and taken to the Buell house (the Widow Frost place, corner of

> Spring and State streets) or other houses; but this was considered a dangerous practice, and they were finally sent to the woods of the North End. The negroes never knew the names of the men at whose houses they slept (Ibid., p. 471).

Among the people participating in the expansion of the local economy and in the activities of the Underground Railroad in Springfield, was the fiery John Brown of Harper's Ferry fame. He migrated to Springfield in 1846, where he opened a small business with Simon Perkins of Akron, Ohio. Their primary business function was to grade wool for shipment to Europe and within the United States; but, after dark, the warehouse which was used to store their merchandise became, as well, a heaven for runaway slaves from the South. Green states that,

> Perkins and Brown rented the upper part of John L. King's warehouse, near the depot, and worked with his men daily, in sorting wool. He had changed to Chester W. Chapin's new block, south of the railroad office, in 1848. The firm, which owned fine flocks of sheep in Ohio, had been sent to Springfield to represent the Western woolgrowers in New England, where their wool was to be graded. It worked well that first year, but failing markets, a want of proper cooperation in the West, and not over commercial methods of business on the part of Brown himself, contributed to financial disaster. He did over $50,000 worth of business, however (p. 506).

Brown remained in Springfield for only two years, from 1847 to 1849. During this period, however, he created bonds of friendship with large numbers of Black people.

Not only was he able to assist Black escapees from the South to find more secure and permanent living arrangements in Canada and areas of the United States, but he was also instrumental in creating jobs for those persons who desired to remain in Springfield. A case in point would be the fugitive slave, Thomas Thomas, a long time resident of Springfield, who had escaped from bondage in Maryland and found his way to Springfield in the 1840's. He worked with Brown for most of the time Brown was in Springfield. There is a story told that Brown probably had many other Black employees besides Thomas.

In 1847, Brown brought his family to Springfield and either rented or bought a home on Franklin Street. This house was also a sub-station on the Underground Railroad.

Brown left town in 1849, not to return to Springfield until the year after the passage of the Federal Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. This law, created to allow the so-called "owners" of escaped slaves to cross state and territorial boundaries in pursuit of "their peoperty," engendered tremendous responses in the North and in Massachusetts in particular. All across the State, abolitionists banded together to deter the federal marshals assigned by this law to transport identified runaways back into slavery (see Appendix E).

A number of Springfield's White citizens, in

collaboration with the Black population, united to form a strong, local anti-slavery society after the passage of the act. John Brown, concerned about the Black friends he had made during the two years he had been a resident of the city, returned to Springfield, in 1851. At this time, he organized what he called the "Springfield Branch of the United States League of Gileadites (see Appendix F), "a paramilitary organization of Black and White people whose aim was to prevent the capture of fugitive slaves discovered in Springfield." Although it was called a "Branch," there is no evidence that any other city or town in the United States had organized a similar body. Perhaps Brown anticipated others; but there is no record that they ever materialized. In any event, Brown wanted to provide for the Black people of Springfield a self-defense force. In this regard, it is interesting to note that Brown wanted the local White residents who were playing lip-service to the anti-slavery cause to commit themselves as firmly to the movement as he was himself. Being somewhat unsure of the White's commitment to the local Black people, he suggested to his Black friends that:

> After effecting a rescue, if you are assailed, go into the houses of your most prominent and influential White friends with your wives, and that will effectually fasten upon them the suspicion of being connected with you, and will compel them to make a common cause with you, whether they would otherwise live up to their profession or not (Ibid., p. 2).

The fugitive slaves had very little to lose; it was either fight and perhaps die, or be returned into bondage, a fate which, in some instances, might have been worse than death, but which, in any case, was worth risking everything to avoid. The Whites, on the other hand, were being pressured by the Afro-Americans and their allies on one side, and by the rather conservative local press on the other. The Springfield Daily Republican (hereafter referred to as "the Republican"), the only newspaper in town until 1864, printed an editorial on April 14, 1851 which argued, for example, that the abolitionists should,

> Say to the Fugitive Slave thus: 'My friend, you are in danger. You may possibly, be claimed, though the probabilities are that you will not--. You are, nevertheless, in danger, and in the event of your being claimed by your legal master, it will be impossible for us to rescue you, for the law forbids it. If you are willing to remain here, and run your own risk, we can offer no objection but if you really fear that you may be claimed, you can do nothing better than to retire to some obscure town in our own or in adjoining States, or to go to Canada' (p. 2).

The Black population was indeed concerned. As soon as the news broke that the infamous fugitive slave law had been passed, self-defense groups were organized and armed, ready to repel any attempt to capture a Black person in Springfield. The Republican, on October 15, 1850, announced that:

> . . . Our colored friends in town are getting considerably excited in regard to the new

> Fugitive Slave Law. We understand that the most of them have armed themselves against any emergency that may arise, and are determined to do valiant battle for their rights. The 'soap pedlar' says that those who do not read the paper are more frightened than those who do--. One of our citizens who has a colored girl in his employ sends her every morning to open and sweep out his office. The other morning in her absence, a butcher knife was missed. When she returned, she was asked if she knew anything about it, and answered the inquiry by pulling the savage weapon from one of those unfathomable pockets which ladies of all colors manage to lug around. We understand that the pastor of the colored Church, Rev. Mr. Mars, has preached a sermon to his people, taking for his text Luke 23d, 36: 'And he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one.' 'Mars' is rather a formidable name for a leader (p. 3).

Yet, at a meeting two weeks later, of the local fugitive slave society, the following resolution was passed: "That we here pledge ourselves to our fellow citizens to stand by each other in determined resistance to this law, and to fugitives from the South to protect them from their pursuers, and we will, if necessary, suffer the consequences" (Ibid., p. 2). There seem to have been no attempts by the slave catchers to test the will and resolve of the local organizations; however, one incident did occur sometime during the month of November, 1851, which created tremendous excitement in town. The following excerpt from The Republican on April 4, 1851, explains the incident:

> Under the head of 'Kidnappers,' the Commonwealth of Monday morning has the following paragraph: Two fellows by the names of

> Bacon and McMasters, have been creating considerable excitement in and about the Springfield area by making inquiries after fugitive slaves. When charged with being southerners engaged in that abominable business, they did not deny it or make any explanations. They took the early train at Springfield yesterday for this city. One of them has sandy hair, and the other a dark moustache and long hair of the same color. Look out for them (p. 2).

The editors argued very strongly that these two men were only "two unconscious slave hunters" looking for available farm-hands to employ (Ibid., p. 2). Yet, because of the great fear which had pervaded the North, everyone asking questions about local Afro-Americans was suspected. After this incident, few reports were ever circulated concerning slave-catchers in Springfield. This does not mean, however, that the local organizations relaxed their vigilance. On the contrary, William Wells Brown, the well known Black writer and orator, visited Springfield in 1854 and found that, as he made his way to take the train for Boston, he found there some ten or fifteen Blacks all armed to the teeth and swearing vengeance upon the heads of any who should attempt to take them. True, the slave-catchers had been there. But the authorities, foreseeing a serious outbreak, advised them to leave, and feeling alarmed for their personal safety, these disturbers of the peace had left on the evening train for New York. No fugitive slave was ever afterwards disturbed at

Springfield (Boyer: p. 438).

However, all was not confusion and disarray in Springfield. The 1850's witnessed the beginning of both stability and a measure of socio-economic security for the Afro-American population. Beginning with an examination of the United States Census of 1850, a number of interesting developments can be disclosed.

First, the data show that the Black population had more than doubled from the census taken ten years earlier (Table 1). When these data, especially the individual names of Springfield's Black residents, are compared with the names appearing on the local city directories, it becomes clear that not only were Black people coming into town in unprecedented numbers, but those Black people who were present for the printing of the city directories in the 1840's were, by and large, remaining in town for relatively longer periods of time. (For example, almost one-quarter of the Black people enumerated in the city directories in 1845 were also found within its political boundaries during the taking of the Federal census in 1850.) This rate of population retention may seem low at first examination; however, in light of the fact that at least part of the Afro-American community during this historical period were fugitive slaves, it would seem logical to assume that many of their numbers would be

reduced because of the existence of the fugitive slave law. Moreover, segments of the White community were also moving in and out of the city. A sample of White residents of Springfield during the same period of time shows that only forty-three percent of the White residents appearing in the city directories for 1845 were enumerated on the 1850 census, with fifty-seven percent either moving away or dying. This White sample, of course, contains many professionals, semiprofessionals and merchants, the socio-economic classes most likely to remain in town. On the other hand, ethnic minorities in other Northern communities during this time period have been found to exhibit similar mobility traits. Thernstrom and Knights, for example, point out that they have yet to find a city in which most members of any minority group remained for long in the community at all, much less within the confines of their particular neighborhood or neighborhoods (p. 33). The apparent mobility of Afro-Americans in the Springfield community appears typical of ethnic minorities' living patterns during this time.

Because the federal censuses of 1850 through 1880 did not attempt to determine how long the respondents lived in their present towns and states nor where they came from before settling in the towns reported during these census years, it is impossible to determine exactly where the

individual members of the Black community derived or how long they had been in Springfield. However, by analyzing the places of birth, as they were reported on the 1850 through 1880 censuses, some indication of where segments of the population originated from birth are made possible.

An examination of Table 2 shows that the Afro-Americans reported as living in Springfield in 1850 were not all born in the Bay State. As a matter of fact, not quite half of the Black people enumerated on the 1850 census were born in Massachusetts. On the other hand, it is interesting to observe that fourteen percent of the Blacks reporting places of birth stated that they were born in slaveholding states. This figure of fourteen percent, however, does not include the seven percent who were listed within the category "unknown place of birth"; undoubtedly a number of these individuals were also originally from the South or the slavocracy controlled boarder states.

Several reasons might be offered to suggest why or how Afro-Americans who reported Southern birthplaces came to be found in Springfield, especially interesting in light of evidence which suggests that some of these residents during the taking of the 1850 and 1860 census were subject to arrest and deportation back into slavery. One reason for the apparent ease with which some persons

TABLE 2

PLACE OF BIRTH FOR BLACK POPULATION, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, 1850

State	Total	Percent of Total
Vermont	2	1
Massachusetts	111	42
Rhode Island	3	1
Connecticut	62	23
New York	15	6
Pennsylvania	16	6
Washington, D. C.	6	2
Maryland	16	6
Virginia and West Virginia	10	4
Georgia	2	1
Alabama	2	1
Canada	1	Less than one percent
West Indies	3	1
Unknown	18	7
Total	267	

Source: The United States Census Manuscript Schedules for 1850.

reported their places of birth and concomitant data might have been that they had been members of the relatively small number of free persons of color living in the South and through the normal course of events, migrated to Springfield as some of their numbers had moved to other Northern states and territories. Secondly, they might have been fugitive slaves who were made to feel that, by giving information concerning themselves to the census-takers, they were not libel to prosecution by the law. That is to say, the social environment in Springfield was such, that many of the fugitives may have felt that their safety was assured by the anti-slavery organization in town. Thirdly, the practice of "buying" one's freedom or that of his or her family was not totally unheard of. A local instance of the practice appeared in the Republican. It seems that a fugitive slave by the name of Thomas A. Ringgold escaped from servitude in Washington, D. C. and made his way to Springfield, later moving to Chicopee. There he set up a small barbershop and "bought and paid for" the freedom of his wife and children who had remained in slavery in the nation's capital (Republican: February 14, 1851, p. 2).

Quantitative Description
of the Black Population

As I have discussed above, the Afro-American community

began a steady numerical increase from 1840 through the turn of the twentieth century. By using the data collected and correlated from the decennial census of 1850 through 1880, a historical picture begins to emerge, displaying the general characteristics of that community. For example, Table 3 shows the (statistical) break-down of every Black man or female between the ages of one day old to sixty years of age and older, who were enumerated on the 1850 census.

TABLE 3

BLACK SPRINGFIELD: A QUANTITATIVE DESCRIPTION OF AGE-GRADES BY SEX AND YEAR, 1850

Years of Age	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	Percent of Total
0-15	32	12	47	18	30
16-30	40	15	70	26	41
31-45	25	9	17	6	15
46-50	11	4	20	8	12
61+	1	less than 1	3	1	1+
Total	109	41	157	59	100

The importance of these data can be discussed in two major ways. First, to gain an understanding of this community, it is significant to discuss several components

of the population. Was it primarily comprised of one sex; were most of the people in the community too old or too young to be included as active members within the local labor force? When both of these factors are correlated, it becomes clear that the Black population was indeed a relatively young community. Table 3 shows, for example, that seventy-one percent of the Black community was between the ages of one day old and thirty years of age. It also shows that the segment of the population most likely to be engaged in an occupation of some type (age-grade 16-60) constituted sixty-eight percent of the total Black population. Male members within this group, however, constituted only twenty-eight percent of the total Black population, with the females forty percent. When the data from Table 4 are compared with these data, we can observe an interesting situation; namely, that the female members of the community were reported, by and large, as inactive within the labor force.

One can only speculate why there were one hundred and seven Black females enumerated on the 1850 census between the ages of 16-60 and only two reported as working members in the labor force. One possible reason for this seemingly low number might well be that working women were not generally included in the category of employed persons if they were not employed on a full-time basis. Many of

TABLE 4

BLACK SPRINGFIELD: OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY SEX AND CENSUS YEAR, 1850

Occupation	Males	Females	Totals	Percent of Total
Farmer	4	0	4	6
Minister	2	0	2	3
Saloon or Rest Keep	1	0	1	1
Barber or Hair Dresser	6	0	6	8
Waiter or Cook	14	1	15	21
Domestic	4	1	5	7
General Laborer	38	0	38	53
Shoemaker	1	0	1	1
	70	2	72	

the women, no doubt, "took in washing and ironing" or "did day's work" as a means of earning a living or as a way to supplement the earnings of their husbands. Conceivably, a number of them worked only two or three days a week and since the census had no category which denoted part-time employment, many of the women were not computed in the analysis. A comparison of individual names was made by checking the census data against the 1850 Springfield city directories and only one female was located. However, it

must be remembered that generally only the male heads of households were listed. Throughout the country, Greene and Woodson observed:

> The fact that a large number of Negroes performed menial service is explained by the strong animus against hiring Negroes in the higher occupations. As a result, the Negro males found it exceedingly difficult to secure any sort of employment. In this extremity, the Negro washer-woman rose to prominence. She became in many instances the sole breadwinner of the family. She washed and ironed while her all but idle husband brought in and carried the clothes back to the homes . . . without a doubt many a Negro family in the free States would have been reduced to utter destitution had it not been for the labor of the mother as a washerwoman (p. 3).

The case for Black males receiving menial jobs seems to be everywhere in evidence; however, in Springfield, there did not seem to be any shortage of employment for Blacks as long as they remained in the relatively few occupational categories to which they were relegated. Whether or not the hostilities of discrimination would have erupted through to the surface if skilled or professional Black workers had been on the scene can only be speculated about. The fact is that the professional and skilled workers were not present in town prior to the Civil War and the numbers of Black people in general were so few that the employment picture for those who sought work was not a serious issue.

Table 4 shows, as a matter of fact, that fifty-four percent of the males reported on the 1850 census were

categorized as "General Laborers." Specifically, they would have been employed as well diggers, bootblacks, janitors, sand diggers, lumber yard hands, brickyard workers, or the like. The wages paid for these "menial services" were probably very low. The historical record for Springfield does not supply data on specific wages earned, but, "The first scientific studies of unemployment and underemployment in Massachusetts, conducted in the 1870's, revealed that the common laborer generally worked no more than 230 or 240 days per year . . . " (Thernstrom: 1971, p. 20). The daily wage for this kind of work was probably less than one dollar per twelve hour day (Ibid., p. 19).

Demographically, the Black population resided in two primary areas of the city during the mid-nineteenth century. The area on the "hill" referred to in Chapter II as Hayti and Jamaica contained perhaps one-third of the Black population and the general regions around the near "south-end" of town housed most of the others (see Appendices G-J). One of the major reasons for the shift from the "hill" district of town as a place of residence for the local Afro-Americans was the problem of commuting from their homes on the "hill" to the various places of employment. That is, most of the businesses which employed Black workers were located in and around the Main Street area of

what is at present downtown Springfield. If one lived in the Hayti section of town without transportation, he or she might be faced with a two or three mile walk to and from work. Subsequently, as houses and apartments became vacant, Blacks as well as low income Whites moved closer to the city center.

Further investigation of the Springfield city directories for the 1850's disclosed that discrimination in housing was not overtly apparent. This is not to say that Blacks and poor Whites could live wherever they chose; on the contrary, the ever present problem of the economic "have-nots" was a major factor then, as it is today, in determining the place of residence for most Black people as well as other minorities. Areas of the north-end and around the United States Armory, which was situated on the "hill," were for all practical purposes, inaccessible to those citizens without well paying jobs. Most of the newer homes were selling for as much as $10,000 each. It becomes a simple mathematical exercise to determine that if the average worker was earning seventy-five cents per day for approximately two hundred and fifty days, for example, his or her earnings would be far less than the amount necessary to purchase a home. It was not until long after the Civil War was ended that there is any evidence that wages for general, unskilled laborers in Springfield reached as high

as three and four dollars per week.

The demographic details of the residential areas of highest Black concentration shows that these areas were interspersed with Whites as well as Black residents. In most of the boarding houses, for example, Black and White residents were listed as living in the same buildings. However, individual homes were not numbered to show their locations on the various streets in Springfield until the 1880's; consequently, it is almost impossible to determine exact house locations for either Whites or Blacks. One point is made clear; the residential areas of the "south-end," where most of the Black people were residing, were racially integrated during all of the nineteenth century.

By 1860, the Springfield Afro-American community had established at least one recognized church of its own, Sanford Street Church (also referred to as Free Church, Zion Methodist, Free Congregational Church, and later, St. John's Congregational Church) whose ministers and elders were often recognized as the leading spokesmen for the Black population in town. Evidence of the growing political awareness manifested itself throughout the 1860's by this congregation and its astute and articulate leaders. The Reverend Mr. Mars, for example, one of the first Black spiritual leaders in town, continually fought for the socio-political rights of the Black people in Springfield.

As early as the 1850's, you will recall, he advanced the argument that Black people had to arm themselves and advocated that " . . . he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one."

Prior to the Civil War, almost every Black person in Springfield belonged to this church, making it the first Black voluntary association in town. It was the major outlet for most of the social activities, providing both the spiritual leadership and occasions for picnics and festivals. One attempt at amusement reported by the Republican, on July 29, 1859, stated that,

> The colored people of Sanford street church had a still, quiet festival there, last evening, and seemed to enjoy themselves, quite as much as anybody could in the way of eating candy, coke and other good things too numerous to mention. Their tastes, if not their rights, are wonderfully like those of white folks (p. 3).

This article, like so many before and after 1859, points out, besides historical information concerning the local Black people, that the White community was (and perhaps still is) quite ignorant about their Black neighbors. The general tenor of this article presupposes that the Afro-Americans held different aims and desires from their White counterparts. This White writer for the Republican seemed quite surprised that Black people could find enjoyment in the manner Whites themselves enjoyed, presumably because they were second class citizens without the rights and

privileges of the local "White folks."

My impression of the fragmented historical data concerning this Black population, however, leads me to believe that the frequent social gatherings were not all that they seemed to be; that is, the social festivals might well have been one of the techniques used to gather together as many of the Black people in town as could be mustered, in order to provide an informal political forum for national and local issues. On November 18, 1859, for example, after a series of picnics and parties, twenty-five dollars was collected and sent to the widow of John Brown, an expression of their sympathy for his execution and their continued support in the cause for which he had died (p. 2). Another illustration would be the celebration and other activities promoted on August the first of each year, which marked the anniversary of the emancipation of the West Indian slaves in 1843, the recognition of which continued throughout the nineteenth century.

Quantitatively the Black population remained fairly close to the numbers recorded on the 1850 census; that is, two hundred and sixty-seven persons were enumerated on the census manuscript schedules in 1850 and two hundred and seventy-six were counted in 1860. This, of course, does not mean that the population was unmoving and physically or culturally stagnant. On the contrary, the recorded data

suggests that the Black community in Springfield was even more volatile during the decennial period ending in 1859 than they had been in the ten year period prior to the census of 1849. As I stated above, almost twenty-five percent of the Black people found in the city in 1845 were present when the census of 1850 was recorded. Yet, ten years later, during the taking of the 1860 census, only twelve percent of those Afro-Americans listed on the 1850 census were still to be found in town.

This decline in the persistence rate might be explained in a couple of ways. First, the same problems of being caught and returned to bondage still prevailed. This of course sent many of the fugitive slaves further north after brief layovers in town. Secondly, for those persons deciding to remain in town, some may not have wished to be counted by the census takers for fear of being discovered by slave catchers. Still others may have been missed due to census-taker error.

Part of this explanation can be illustrated by observing Table 5, which shows the number of individuals reported as being born in the various states and listed on the census of 1860. Clearly, twenty-five percent of all Black residents of Springfield were born in slaveholding states in 1860 as opposed to fourteen percent listed in 1850. These numbers, however, reflect only those Black

TABLE 5

PLACE OF BIRTH FOR BLACK POPULATION,
SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, 1860

State	Total Number	Percent of Total Black Population
Massachusetts	136	49
Rhode Island	1	.4
Connecticut	30	11
New York	11	4
New Jersey	1	.4
Pennsylvania	18	7
Deleware	2	1
Washington, D. C.	7	3
Maryland	31	11
Virginia & West Virginia	15	5
Tennessee	1	.4
North Carolina	2	1
South Carolina	1	.4
Georgia	7	3
Florida	2	1
Indiana	4	1
Canada	4	1
West Indies	1	.4
Africa	1	.4
Unknown	4	1
Total	276	

people who remained in town long enough to be counted and does not indicate those persons who moved to other locations before the taking of the 1860 census. Table 6, on the other hand, allows some understanding of the distribution by sex of the Black population as it is compared with the same quantitative statistics of the 1850 enumeration.

TABLE 6

BLACK POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
BY SEX AND YEAR, 1850 AND 1860

Sex	1850	Percent	1860	Percent
Males	109	40.8	118	42.8
Females	158	59.2	158	57.2
	267		276	

Besides showing the very slight fluctuation in the total numbers of Afro-Americans enumerated during the two census periods, these data reveal the relatively close association between the total numbers, in both actual numbers and percentages, which existed among males and females during these periods. One might, as a matter of fact, theorize that one of the reasons that extreme racial conflicts did not erupt in Springfield, as it had in other metropolitan areas of the United States, was because the ratio of Black males to females allowed ample opportunity for both sexes

to acquire mates among their own racial group. This, of course, presupposes that racial conflicts occur, in part, because of interracial hostilities brought on by miscegenation.

The census data for 1860 also points out that the distribution of the Black population according to age-grade remained fairly close from 1850 to 1860.

TABLE 7

BLACK SPRINGFIELD: A QUANTITATIVE DESCRIPTION OF AGE-GRADES BY SEX AND YEAR, 1860

Years of Age	Male	Percent	Females	Percent	Total	Percent of Total
0-15	44	16	58	21	102	37
16-30	30	11	45	16	75	27
31..45	27	10	32	12	59	22
36-60	15	5	18	7	33	12
61 +	2	1	5	1	7	2
Total	118	43	158	57	276	100

Even though there seem to have been some shifts in most of the age-groupings from 1850 to 1860, the total distribution remained relatively similar, with sixty-four percent of the population ranging from "just born" to thirty years of age, as compared with seventy-one percent in 1850. The major

change seems to have occurred in the 16-30 age-grade. In 1850, for example, forty-one percent of the population was reported as being included in this group. Yet, ten years later, only twenty-seven percent were present. Interestingly, the major difference is reflected in the numbers of females enumerated. Part of the decrease, of course, can be accounted for by a rise in the percentage of women in the 31-45 age category, which shows an increase of seven percent over the ten year period.

Occupationally, changes were also occurring. Table 8, for example, lists the kinds of occupations made available to Black people in Springfield during the 1850's and recorded on the census manuscript schedules in 1860.

Other interesting shifts began to emerge during this decade. First, it can clearly be seen that women, for the first time, were enumerated in more realistic numbers. The census of 1850, as you recall, reported that out of a total labor force of seventy-two, only two women were listed as being employed; yet, they made up fifty-nine percent of the total Black population. On the other hand, by 1860 women accounted for fifty-seven percent of the total Black population and fifty-six percent of the total Black labor force. Not only is this a vast change from the 1850 census, but the 1860 census reports that three of the forty employed women were working in semi-skilled occupations, two dress-

TABLE 8

BLACK SPRINGFIELD: OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION
BY SEX AND CENSUS YEAR, 1860

Occupation	Males	Females	Total	Percent of Total
Farmer	4	0	4	4
Farm Laborers	7	0	7	6
Ministers	1	0	1	1
Barbers	11	0	11	10
Waiters/Cooks	6	6	12	11
Lamp Lighters	1	0	1	1
Clerk	2	1	3	3
Hostler	1	0	1	1
Teamster	8	0	8	7
Domestic	2	30	32	29
General Laborers	25	0	25	23
Painter/Paper Hanger	1	0	1	1
Millwriter	1	0	1	1
Blacksmith	1	0	1	1
Shoemaker	1	0	1	1
Dressmaker	0	2	2	2
Total	72	39	111	100

makers and one store clerk.

The altered proportions in the occupational categories were undoubtly due, in part, to the increased proficiency of the census-takers and in the increased opportunities made available to Blacks in general. The total numbers of Black people in Springfield had remained the same from 1850 to 1860, yet, the numbers of Afro-Americans listed in the labor force had increased by six percent, almost all of the change being accounted for by the increased number of women counted in the 1860 census.

The Black residents of Springfield were also showing some signs of increased occupational mobility. There were listed two male clerks among the Black people in the labor force. This in itself was a remarkable change from other geographic regions of the United States during this period in history. In an unpublished study I made in Galesburg, Illinois, for the same time period, I found that no Black clerks were hired in any of the business establishments until the 1940's. Yet, Springfield had provided this opportunity almost one hundred years earlier. With one possible exception, the occupations listed on the census manuscript schedules seem to coincide with occupational opportunities realized by Whites in similar socio-economic categories. For example, I found that a randomly selected group of White residents holding non-skilled jobs during

the same ten year period (1850 to 1860) were just as hard pressed to gain better paying jobs as their Black counterparts. As a matter of fact, of the one hundred Whites who were sampled and whose occupations were reported as "General Laborers" on the 1850 census, only three people were found to have acquired a different job from the one they held in 1850; and all were in town when the 1850 census was taken. Among the Black residents, six males indicated that they were no longer doing the kind of work reported on the 1850 census. Interestingly, two Black males reported that they had become clerks and four were full-time barbers, all four of whom were born in the south. The fact that they were able to establish themselves as barbers, however, is not overly surprising since that occupation was almost exclusively held by Black people in Springfield, as well as in many other sections of the country, North and South.

When we observe Table 9, we can view not only the ages of the Black residents in the labor force but, can attempt to gain more insight into employment patterns. That is to say, with just a few minor exceptions, every Black male living in Springfield in 1860 was gainfully employed. The largest percentage of unemployed persons was found in the 15-20 age-grade, which seems to be understandable since some of the 15 and 16 year olds were still in school.

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF ALL BLACK AGE-GRADES,
ALL GAINFULLY EMPLOYED, 1860

Age-Grade	Males	% of All Males	Females	% of All Females	Total Employed	% of Total Employed
15-20	12	75	1	5	13	15
21-25	5	100	10	59	15	14
26-30	11	100	3	18	14	13
31-35	7	100	9	100	16	14
36-40	15	94	4	27	19	17
41-45	4	100	3	38	7	6
46-50	6	100	4	40	10	9
51-55	3	100	1	25	4	4
56-60	6	100	4	100	10	9
61 +	2	100	1	20	3	3
Total	71		40		111	

This table, specifically, shows the numbers of males and females listed in each age-grade, and the percentage of each sex employed in a given age category. For example, the first row shows the age-grade 15-20. Twelve males were reported as employed, and these twelve individuals made up seventy-five percent of all males between the ages of 15-20 years. The one employed female in the same age-grade accounted for five percent of all Black females in that age

category. Combined, there were thirteen Black males and females employed, which was fifteen percent of all Blacks working in Springfield and enumerated on the 1860 census.

The War Years

On April 12, 1861, the first shots of the Civil War were fired at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, the sound of which did not go unheard among Springfield's Black population. The Black church on Sandford Street in Springfield became the headquarters for numerous prayer vigils and political strategy sessions in expressing the hope that the dreaded system of human bondage would at last come to an end.

Throughout most of the country, Black men and women, along with their White supporters, pleaded with President Lincoln to free the Afro-Americans and/or let them fight for their independence. Lincoln, however, doggedly refused both requests for almost two years after the beginning of open hostilities. On the question of emancipation, Lincoln

> . . . hoped to achieve emancipation by compensating the owners for their human property; and then he looked forward to colonizing the Negroes in some other part of the world (Franklin: p. 280).

The question of Black people in the military became a different problem altogether. Benjamin Quarles, for example, suggests that the refusal

> . . . to accept Negroes for military service . . . was grounded in traditional practices and beliefs. Since the close of the Revolutionary War, it had been the custom to bar Negroes from the armies of America. The national militia act of 1792 restricted the enrollment to whites, and state militia laws, North as well as South, followed suit. Opposition to the Negro as soldier was rooted in fears that he lacked the qualities of a fighting man, that arming him would be an admission that white soldiers had not been valiant enough to do the job, that putting a gun (in) his hands might lead to slave insurrections--and in the deep, although unspoken, fear that to make the Negro a soldier would bring about a change in his position in America (p. 111).

Initially most White Northerners felt that the War was to be of such short duration that the White troops could march South, engage the rebellious Southerners, and return home in glory before the first snow fell in 1861. However, as the months began to accumulate, the zeal for the War lessened; the soldiers in the field and the on-lookers at home grew weary:

> The sons of thousands of white mothers were dying, and people were beginning to say that negroes could stop bullets as well as white men. Humorist Miles O'Reilly marked the shift in a poem:
>
> 'Sambo's Right to be Kilt.'
> Some say it is a burnin' shame
> To make the naygurs fight,
> An' that the thrade of bein' kilt
> Belongs but to the white;
> But as for me upon my sowl'
> So liberal are we here,
> I'll let Sambo be murthered in place o' meself
> On every day in the year (Bennett: p. 169).

The state of affairs which existed in the country did

not escape the attention of the Black people in Springfield. Their eagerness to participate in the cause which they felt would lead to the liberation of all Black people in the country was expressed in a letter to the editor of the Republican on August 8, 1862. The letter entitled, "A Colored Man's Plea,"--a title bestowed upon it by the editors of the newspaper--was written by Reverend J. N. Mars, pastor of the Sanford Street Church, and read:

> Will you allow me to ask through your paper for some one to inform me and a host of other colored men, if the rebels of New England States or any of the other free states, if it would be unconstitutional for colored men to take up arms against them? Or if we see the rebels slaughtering our white friends and destroying their property, must we stand and look quietly on? Some of us have homes we love. Some of us have patriotic hearts, that burn with love for our bleeding country and we ask if in this, our nation's death struggle, because God has given us skins that are dark, we must be silent and inactive, and see our white brothers butchered and the nation destroyed, or what shall we do? Is this constitutional? Will you please answer this in your paper, and oblige a multitude of souls (p. 4).

The editors responded by stating that,

> The president has declined to accept colored soldiers, but if friend Mars, or any colored patriot, comes across a rebel, he may shoot or capture him without breaking the constitution, as far as we know. If he is a true son of 'Mars,' he will be pretty certain to do it (p. 4).

The Reverend Mr. Mars did not have long to wait. The long awaited emancipation of the Afro-Americans in the United

States was proclaimed as the law of the land only four months after Mr. Mars' appeal, January 1, 1863. By providing that,

> . . . all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of the State, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thence-forward, and forever free,

the proclamation allowed thousands of Black men to take up arms and participate in the conflict. The United States War Department, on January 26, 1863, authorized Massachusetts to enlist Black military personnel; thus, the first Black military force raised in the North--the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Volunteers--was formed.

The news of the emancipation was received in Springfield as it had been by Black people throughout the land, with jubilation. Undoubtly, numerous religious and social gatherings pre-empted the customary activities of the local Afro-Americans. On January 10, 1863, for example, many of the Black leaders paid for advertisement space in the Republican to announce:

> Emancipation.--We, the colored citizens of Springfield, respectfully invite all lovers of Liberty, without distinction of shade or cast, to join with us in celebrating the President's late Proclamation of Freedom, at the City Hall, on Tuesday Evening, January 17, 1863 (p. 4).

The celebration, which was changed to January 13, 1863, was reported to the town by the Republican in the usual

"lack-luster" method which was not atypical for the times. The article stated:

> The emancipation jubilee at the City Hall last evening, was pleasant and successful. The hall was well filled, with the exception of the space beneath the galleries, where long tables set for the collection made a tempting show; and the free mingling of colors in the audience was such as would have moved the delicate soul of Jeff Davis to new contempt of the 'low-bred' Yankees. After the 'Star Spangled Banner' by the Springfield brass band and prayer by Rev. Mr. Mars, the president's proclamation was read by Mr. William Hall. The chairman, Mr. W. H. Montague, made a few brief remarks and introduced Reverend Henry Highland Garnet of New York, who made a very sensible speech, but lacking in the fire and vivacity of his earlier days. He commenced with a pleasant allusion to the late Dr. Osgood and John Brown, both of whom he met the last time he addressed a Springfield audience. He proceeded to speak of the progress of the anti-slavery cause and of the reasons for the proclamation, and argued earnestly that the negroes would fight well if the government would give them a chance. Mr. Garnet made many good points and his address was well received. After more music, Mr. William Wells Brown addressed the audience for half an hour in the most eloquent and interesting manner. The capabilities of the slaves to become both producers and consumers and every way valuable citizens, were especially dwelt upon. The strength and beauty of the Union when purged of slavery was pictured in glowing terms, and throughout the address was well received. After the speeches came the supper and a social good time generally, in which a large number participated, and which was protracted till a late hour (p. 4).

The festive celebrations continued, some formally, and others not quite so formal. Yet, the War continued and the need for volunteers was articulated daily in the local

newspaper. For the local Black people, the desire to become active in the military operations in the South became increasingly important. The Emancipation Proclamation had enabled Black people to enlist in the armed forces, but had restricted their enrollments to the newly formed all-Black units. The Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Volunteers, the only military unit in Massachusetts accepting Black enlistments in the state, was recruiting throughout the North. On February 21, 1863, the Republican announced that,

> Charles H. Johnson, a smart Young colored man from Warren, has opened a recruiting office for the colored regiment near the depot. Our 'colored brethren' are great on talking and praying for freedom--let us see if some of them will not fight for it (p. 3).

In this regard, it is interesting to observe the findings of Joanna Coleman in her unpublished Master's Thesis submitted and accepted by Smith College in 1928. In an attempt to provide an analytic cultural description of the various ethnic groups found in Springfield during the Civil War years, she concludes that the Black people in Springfield were the "least active of all the Springfield people. . . . " She makes note of the fact that the Afro-Americans:

> . . . held spirited war meetings at various times, and at one of these gatherings, passed a resolution pledging their support in raising a colored regiment and only "negroes" enlisted (Coleman: p. 8).

Read by the unenlightened, this account suggests that attempts to recruit Black men for military service was a complete failure. This was the farthest thing from the truth. On April 2, 1863, for example, the Republican reported that twenty-eight men had volunteered for the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Volunteers (p. 4). Prior to the second of April, approximately twenty-five enlistments of local Black males had been reported by Recruiting Officer Johnson (the Republican: April 14, 1863). Indeed, the census of 1860, just three years prior to this time, had enumerated only one hundred and eighteen Black males in Springfield. Even if the Black male population had increased by one hundred, one quarter of the town's Black male residents would have enlisted in the armed forces by April of 1863.

These newspaper accounts made frequent notice of the great abolitionist, Frederic Douglass, who made more than ten stop-overs in Springfield between 1863 and 1864. Douglass traveled as far away as Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, securing Black troops for the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Volunteers. In Springfield he would often disembark and acquire food and water for his men before continuing his journey.

The Black men and women who remained in Springfield were not sitting idlely by either. Campaigns were

organized throughout the city to furnish clothing and money for the ex-slaves in the South who, though they had gained their political freedom, were then forced into a different kind of struggle for survival. The unselfishness of the "home folks" was nearly as demonstrable in the War effort as that of the volunteers. Frequent notice was made in the Republican of the barrels of clothing and other supplies which were sent to the desperately needy freedman.

Almost four years to the day, April 9, 1865, the Confederate States of America surrendered. Like the announcement of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, the news of the cessation of hostilities brought joy to the people of Springfield, Black and White alike. Yet, a kind of cloak of sorrow prevailed, seemingly adding a tear to every laugh, a sigh to every smile. Almost every family in the nation had lost a loved one. The toll in human suffering probably effected the Afro-Americans in even greater proportion than the Whites.

> More than 38,000 Negro soldiers lost their lives in the Civil War. It has been estimated that their rate of mortality was nearly forty percent greater than among white troops (Franklin: p. 293).

Exactly how many Black people lost their lives in this struggle will never be known. Equally difficult to determine is the number of Black troops killed from Springfield. Some were among the casualties reported to the city of

Springfield by State's Adjutant General's office in 1866 (Green: p. 537); others were not reported locally.

None of this, however, is an attempt to play down the involvement of White people nationally or in Springfield; the deaths of Whites were tremendous. The sympathy, comfort, and aid afforded to Black people by the local White residents, in many instances, can only be measured now emotionally; the material and financial aid will never be totally ascertained. In less than three months, for example, the local Freedman's Aid Society managed to collect $886.00, along with clothing, books and toys, for shipment to the Black ex-slaves in the South (the Republican: May 12, 1865). The New England branch of the Freedman's Aid Society, had provided enough capital to send two White school teachers, Mary Ames and Emily Bliss, both from Springfield, to the Freedman's School in Charleston, South Carolina (Ibid., May 8, 1865).

The Years of Growth and Prosperity

Springfield, unlike countless other cities and towns in the United States after the Civil War, did not suffer from economic declines which generally follow the cessation of hostilities. On the contrary,

> Springfield was still one of the fastest growing cities in the commonwealth; its total product dollar value increased 90 percent between 1865 and 1875, a rate

> exceeded only by Lynn and several cities in the Boston orbit, a figure particularly impressive because Springfield began the period already at peak production, while virtually all the others had been unnaturally restrained by the wartime slowdown (Frisch: p. 118).

Because of the town's continued growth, with concomitant economic prosperity, the Afro-Americans in Springfield found ample opportunity for unskilled employment. The periods immediately following the War witnessed a number of Springfield's White residents, who had the economic means, corresponding with the Freedman's Aid Society in Washington, D. C., in an attempt to bring Black unskilled workers into town. On January 11, 1867, for example, the Republican announced that,

> . . . Complaints are very frequent as to the manner in which colored servants are furnished, or rather not furnished, by the agents of the freedman's bureau, to those who desire to procure them. Several persons in the city have sent to Washington for servants, but have received only unsatisfactory answers, and it is shrewdly hinted that a liberal brokerage must be paid before the contrabands will be forwarded. There are hundreds of freedmen in the vicinity of Washington and within reach of the bureau who would gladly come North to secure pleasant and permanent homes, and if they are defrauded of the opportunity by these whose duty it is to secure it for them, a reform should be instituted by the chief of the department (p. 4).

The data are unclear as to whether these attempts to relocate the newly freed Afro-Americans from the ever-crowded cities and towns of the South to the economically prosperous

city of Springfield was done in a forthright effort to provide aid to the Black people or if the desire for unskilled, domestic-type employees became the prime mover. Perhaps both factors were important. In any event, numerous Black "sojourners" found their way to Springfield during the later years of the 1860's. As a matter of fact, on January 18, 1867, the Republican, in response to its own editorial of January 11, provided those readers who had been waiting word about Black workers with some encouraging news.

> . . . The people in this city who have made unsuccessful attempts to procure colored servants from the distributing office at Washington, D. C., may gather encouragement from the fact that a consignment of twenty-one men has been lately received at Hartford, who were intended for wood-choppers at Glastenbury, but on account of the snow and cold weather, they did not like the prospect and are now at Hartford waiting for something to turn up. They are said to be stout able-bodied men, and able to do lots of hard work. It is supposed that one principal difficulty in getting them to come North at all, is their inability to endure the present severe season, and that when the weather gets warmer contrabands will be plentier (p. 3).

These men were undoubtly the vanguard for hundreds of other ex-slaves who were to venture out of the South and into Springfield prior to 1880. The Federal censuses for 1870 and 1880, for example, provide the reader with valuable data on this subject. On Table 10, we can see clearly that the Black population continued, over time, to expand, with

TABLE 10

PLACE OF BIRTH FOR BLACK POPULATION,
SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, 1870-1880

State or Country	1870		1880	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Maine	0	1	1	0
New Hampshire	1	1	0	3
Vermont	0	2	2	3
Massachusetts	78	110	130	160
Rhode Island	2	1	1	1
Connecticut	18	48	20	34
New York	17	26	14	26
New Jersey	5	2	3	9
Pennsylvania	14	13	8	5
Washington, D. C.	3	4	8	13
Delaware	-	-	1	0
Maryland	34	25	23	18
Virginia	39	46	76	93
Kentucky	2	1	1	0
Tennessee	2	1	0	1
North Carolina	6	4	4	5
South Carolina	6	0	3	6
Georgia	1	3	0	3
Florida	2	2	1	0
Alabama	0	2	2	0
Louisiana	5	3	5	0
Mississippi	-	-	0	1
Ohio	2	3	0	1
Illinois	2	2	2	2
Missouri	0	1	-	-
Africa	3	4	2	1
Canada	1	1	0	2

TABLE 10--Continued

State or Country	1870 Males	1870 Females	1880 Males	1880 Females
Cuba	1	0	1	0
West Indies	1	0	2	1
Hayti	-	-	0	1
England	-	-	0	1
Total	245	306	310	390

the percentage of Southern-born Blacks accounting for a large portion of that increase. In 1850, as you may recall, only thirteen percent of the Black people living in Springfield and enumerated on the census manuscript schedules for that period, reported that they were born in slave holding states; however, by 1880, the percentage had increased to thirty-eight percent of the total Black population.

In 1921, William Huges, a Black ex-slave from Virginia, was interviewed by a now defunct Springfield newspaper, and he was quoted as saying that he had found very few Afro-Americans in town when he arrived in 1870. The data indicate that over five hundred Black people were present and enumerated on the census that same year. Yet, because this early migrant's history conveys more than the contradiction to my research, I include here the entire interview as it

was recorded by the Springfield Homestead in 1921:

"To William Hughes of Willow street, however, belongs the credit of having started the emigration of ex-slaves to Springfield with a view to permanent settlement. 'It was in this way,' said Mr. Hughes the other day, while busily engaged in his business of cane seating: 'I came to Springfield April 4, 1870. My wife was working here for Reverend Henry M. Parsons, pastor of the First church. I expected to go right back and take my wife with me, but Mr. Parsons found me a job as a shoemaker, with Hitchcock, where the Whitney building is now. The people of Springfield and surrounding towns were very anxious to get colored help, in those days, and through Mr. Parsons engaged me to go to Richmond and hire colored folks to come north. I was paid $2 a day and all my expenses and it cost the white people $11 a head for each colored person and wages of $3.50 to $4 a week. I brought probably 200 altogether and made a number of trips to Richmond; the biggest lot was 35 in one bunch.

'Old man Hines, now dead, was one I brought. Many were slaves and the most came from Richmond. I believe that my wife and I were the means of the colored people coming to Springfield. We set the ball a-rollong and turned the tide this way. When I first came I could walk around and not see half a dozen colored people, but those

I brought like it so well they could send back and get their relatives to come. They would do so well and make a display which fascinated their relatives down in Virginia. One girl down in Richmond said to me: 'My mistress has raised my pay and I am getting $1.50 a week.' I said, that's nothing. You can get $3.50 or $4 in Springfield.'

'I used to raise corn and potatoes where the Tapley school is now. I was 84 Christmas day. All the colored people, the old settlers, are dead and my sister, Mrs. Shepard, who is now sick at the hospital, will be gone soon. Sister will be 83 soon. She won't last much longer. I was a slave until the fall of Richmond, was sold four times and had six masters. I never had very rough treatment. Father was the only one who ever whipped me and I deserved the good thrashing I got, too. Father had a lot of Mexican dollars and I stole one of them. Father saw guilt on my face and made me own up.

"Slavery was terrible and Uncle Tom's Cabin doesn't begin to describe what I saw. We children were kept together and all belonged to one master, Rafe Banks of Richmond. Three of us brought $2000 one time. My brother, George, sold for $820 and I, a young man and strong, brought $810. That was in 1853. Being separated from your own people was the worst. While we were waiting to

be sold we were kept in the Petersburg, Virginia jail for seven weeks. People say to me, 'You must have been a bad boy to have been sold so many times.' It wasn't so; it was because I was of a roving disposition and wanted a change and told my master so. My last master was James C Spudd and when he was dying I nursed him and he gave me $10. Some no-account niggers say,-- 'We was better off in those days when we had everything provided for us and didn't have to look out for ourselves.' I say, let me die without a mouthful of bread rather than be a slave again. Why a nigger couldn't go out in Richmond except on certain streets without he showed a pass. Some of the policemen couldn't read and there was one, a Jew I guess, and he would say,-- 'Get that paper?-- and I would hold up any old paper and it would be all the same to him, for he couldn't read.

'I don't know just when I was born; a good many of us slaves don't, but I know when I was born again-- in 1861, 46 years on the way. I am the oldest member of the Third Baptist church. I think we will all be white in heaven. The Lord made the first man white, but then the colors seem to have got mixed, and, oh! what a hell there has been since over that question of colors. I don't care what people say, the colored people are the praying people, and I won't say anything about some white folks' drinking

habits either. Talk about colored people's stealing chickens! Why, it's got so that a colored man can't get to the chicken coop first. What did I read in the paper about that chicken raid over in Hampden the other night, white folks, too. They stole not only all the chickens, but carried off the whole top of the chicken coop.

"Who is cracking all these safes in Springfield? White men, not black, I guess.

"Who stole all these pigeons down in Connecticut the other night? White men. I don't say but what colored people have their faults, though you take a poor horse and fat him up and what does he do? He begins to kick, don't he? Just so with some colored people right in Springfield, who think that because they were not born slaves or because they have a little lighter-colored skin they are a little better than we black ex-slaves. I used to see just such people down in Virginia before the war. They would belong to some rich family and go strutting around wearing their masters' and mistresses' cast off clothes and jewelry. When you come to that I belonged to the Hughes family of Virginia, one of the finest families in the old dominion! That's the way I got my name. The Hughes family owned land for 10 miles around and built a Methodist church all of themselves. I knew all the old ex-slaves and am probably the oldest one living around here. Some people think

there's none left now in Springfield, I believe there are over a hundred living here still. They don't get together as much as they ought. When Tom Thomas died the main spoke dropped out. Of course there is some colored trash here like that who used to live up in Hayti or State street, but on the whole the colored inhabitants of Springfield are good people and well treated by the whites and I don't like to talk about the present race troubles abroad.' "End of Interview" (p. 16).

This interview with Mr. Hughes, although seemingly inaccurate in certain areas, provides the reader with numerous insights concerning the nineteenth century Afro-American population of Springfield. In his statement, for example, some conception of the wages paid to Black unskilled workers in town can be made. If Mr. Hughes' information is correct, most domestic and general laborers were earning approximately two hundred dollars a year, provided they were employed for a full year. Those persons who had seasonal work or were only able to work for less than a full 52 weeks would, of course, earn proportionally less. However, Thernstrom (1971) found that in Newburyport, Massachusetts, during the same periods under investigation in this study,

> The typical common laborer in Newburyport earned perhaps $300-$350 annually; even the fortunate laborer who found relatively steady employment could earn at most $450 (p. 22).

In light of this comparison, it is obvious that the newly freed slaves arriving in Springfield employed in domestic or general labor were being paid, in some cases, less than half of what Whites in Newburyport were earning. Yet, as Mr. Hughes points out, the Black people who came to Springfield from the South were only earning one dollar and a half per week, or approximately eighty dollars per year.

It should be pointed out, however, that not all Black people in Springfield were earning only enough to maintain their basic subsistence needs. Perhaps the most financially successful Black person in the history of Springfield, began amassing considerable land holdings during the nineteenth century. As early as 1850, Primus Mason, a Black native of Massachusetts, owned farm lands in the area of Springfield called "Winchester Square." Originally he built and lived in a house on the corner of State and Mason streets; the latter street was named for him by the city because of the generosity he displayed in deeding to the town several very valuable pieces of real estate. Just how much land he owned is difficult to determine. Nevertheless, among the most important pieces of land he owned was the area on the "hill" where the present Winchester park is located, and the section East of the park where today Fire Station Number 8 stands. This parcel of land

was bought by Mason from Eleazer Bliss of Springfield in 1850 for the sum of twenty-five dollars. In 1860, after farming the land for ten years, Mason sold this parcel of land to the city for sixty-five dollars. Ironically after the city made the purchase from him for such a ridiculously low price, the name of the park, like that of the surrounding area, became known as Winchester Square and Park, in honor of Charles A. Winchester, the mayor of Springfield in 1868-1869. However, as I mention above, the city recognized the unselfishness of Mr. Mason's contribution by naming one of the side streets in this area, in his honor.

Nor does this conclude the story of Primus P. Mason and the mark he made on Springfield. When he died in 1892, Mason's highly contested will, provided for the establishment of a "home for worthy aged men." Paragraph six of his will states:

> All the rest and residue of my estate of every name and nature I devise and bequeath for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a home for the benefit of worthy old men to be established in said Springfield and if at the time of the settlement of my estate the opportunity shall not have arisen for the establishment of such a home or the residue hereof should be insufficient therefore, I authorize my executors to accumulate the income of said residue until the time arrives for the execution of my purpose herein before declared and in so doing they may allow said residue to remain in real estate if they deam best (Springfield, Massachusetts, Probate Court Records, Book 400).

The Probate Court records at the time of Mason's death showed the following properties:

Type of Property	Location	Evaluation
House & Lot	818 State Street	$ 4000
House & Lot	822 State Street	3300
House & Lot	830 State Street	3200
House & Lot	842 State Street	4000
House & Lot	844 State Street	2700
House & Lot	15 Chapin Street	2300
House & Lot	14 Chapin Street	960
House & Lot	19 Chapin Street	1250
House & Lot	23 Chapin Street	1000
House & Lot	46 Chapin Street	1500
House & Lot	48 Chapin Street	2200
Vacant Lot	Chapin Street	600
House & Lot	707 Union Street	1300
House & Lot	713a Union Street	1500
House & Lot	713 Union Street	1000
House & Lot	717 Union Street	1750
House & Lot	159 Tyler Street	7000
House & Lot	222 Quincy Street	800
House & Lot	Iceville	400

Plus $376.95 in personal property (Ibid.).

When Mason died in 1892, his estate totaled $35,700.00, in real estate, and $376.95 in personal property.

Of course, Primus Parson Mason was the exception to the rule. The vast majority of Afro-Americans continued to maintain employment which could only be categorized as general or domestic laborer. Table 11, for example,

TABLE 11

BLACK SPRINGFIELD: OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION
BY SEX AND CENSUS YEAR

Occupation	1870		1880	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Farmer	4	0	7	0
Farm Laborer	3	0	4	0
Minister	1	0	2	0
Saloon Keeper	1	0	1	0
Peddler	27	4	25	1
Waiter/Cook	13	5	26	9
Fireman	4	0	0	0
Merchant/Trader	1	0	3	1
Clerk	5	2	9	1
Mail Carrier Helper	1	0	0	0
Hostler	10	0	10	0
Boatman	2	0	1	0
Teamster	5	0	15	0
Railroad Worker	4	0	5	0
Domestic	16	78	20	69
General Labor	53	2	67	3
Carpenter	2	0	2	0
Brickmaker	1	0	1	0
Shoemaker	2	0	2	0
Painter/Glazier	10	0	6	0
Blacksmith Helper	2	0	1	0
Cooper	1	0	0	0
Baker	1	0	2	0
Dressmaker	0	2	0	4
Lamp Lighter	0	0	2	0
Broom Maker	0	0	3	0

TABLE 11--Continued

Occupation	1870		1880	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Gunsmith	0	0	3	0
Weaver	0	0	1	0
Total	169	93	218	88

enumerates the specific occupations listed on the census manuscript schedules for each Afro-American resident in Springfield during the 1870 and 1880 census report.

When these statistics are compared with the data reported in previous decades, some occupational changes can, however, be discerned. For example, the data show that the number of skilled workers (i.e., carpenters, barbers, gunsmiths) were more evident than in any of the previous years. Also, sometime during the 1870's, local Black residents started to create their own business enterprises. By 1880 there were four dress makers, one saloon keeper and four people who had indicated to the census taker that they owned grocery or their small stores. These entrepreneurs were only the beginning of a larger contingent of Afro-Americans in Springfield. By the turn of the twentieth century, the number of Black people in business had both increased in number and in the amount of property owned.

Service Facilities and Voluntary Associations

As Springfield continued growing, through time and space, the number and kinds of service facilities needed to administer protection, education and welfare to the residents of the city, concomitantly increased. No historical evidence has come to light which suggests that the nineteenth century Black residents were denied access to any of the established public services in town.

The Springfield Municipal Records from 1850 to 1880 shed little or no light on the racial composition of people receiving welfare, working for the city, or attending any of the public schools located throughout the town. One interesting note on the educational opportunities afforded to Afro-Americans in Springfield was, however, illustrated by Henry Wansey and His American Journal in 1794. While traveling from Boston to New York, via Springfield, he remarked that:

> The country prospects now begin to be beautiful and cheerful, not so much stony ground as in the former part of our journey. We observe a school, and out of it run negro boys and girls, as well as white children, without any distinction. . . . (p. 27).

The existing public school records provide no clue to the specific schools Black children attended during the years prior to the turn of the Twentieth Century. However, one might speculate about these institutions since most

students then, as now, attended the public schools closest to their homes. Since most of the Black residents in nineteenth century Springfield lived in the near south-end of town and on the "hill" (see Appendices G-J), one would probably be close to the truth by suggesting that the public schools in the city which were located in or around the areas that housed most of the Black population had Black students in attendance and, what seems to me to be even more important, is the fact that no official attempts were made to segregate students in school by race or residential location.

Voluntary associations, unlike public institutions and services were, in almost every instance, divided along racial lines. The only possible exception to this dichotomy would be the general open door policy practiced by the local churches. Historically, the Afro-Americans were baptized, married, and buried through the religious auspicious of most of the White churches, including the First Church of Springfield. However, after the establishment of Sanford Street Church--now Saint Johns Congregational Church--in 1849 and Loring Street Church--now Bethal African Methodist Episcopal Church--in 1869, most local Afro-Americans began to close the avenue of voluntary contact.

By the mid-1870's local Afro-Americans, primarily through their religious institutions, began to show concern

for the economic welfare of their members. The Sanford Street Church organized the Union Mutual Beneficial Society whose major function was to provide financial assistance to its members when they became ill or died. Each member was paid three dollars per week when they were unable to work because of illness, and thirty dollars was given to a family when the death of a member was reported to the organization. The Loring Street Church established a similar kind of society, the Daughters of Cyrus, which paid to its members two dollars a week when unable to work and fifteen dollars if a member died.

Other voluntary associations established during the same period were: King Solomon Lodge Number Twelve and Morning Star Degree Lodge Number Four, both temperance societies; and, Summer Lodge, a Masonic organization.

There were probably other associations formed by Black people which were, in time, disbanded or which changed their names, thus losing their identity to historical investigation. I would also conclude that some of the traditionally all-white organizations may have had Black members within their ranks (i.e., the local chapter of the Grand Army of the Republic). Also, some of the traditionally Black organizations were probably social in nature, providing parties or picnics on the various local and national holidays, and, as members moved away, the

organizations became defunct. Others were ad hoc political organizations which worked toward a particular goal and then became inactive. Besides the annual celebration of emancipation, which seems to have been organized each year by different socio-political committees, periodic assemblages were arranged by groups like the Committee for the election of U.S. Grant for President. Others promoted Black political speakers who were elected to office after the newly freed slaves were granted sufferage. The Springfield Semi-Weekly Republican announced, for example, that political committees were at work to bring Senator Hiram Revels to Springfield.

The Springfield Semi-Weekly Republican, April 29, 1870, noted,

> The ratification of the fifteenth amendment is not to go without appropriate celebration in Springfield after all. The large committee of our colored citizens having failed to get both Senator Wilson and Senator Revels as speakers, a smaller committee has taken the matter in hand, secured Senator Revels alone, and invites our citizens to attend his address at the City Hall. . . . Besides the interest attending Mr. Revels as the first representative of his race in the Senate, and which will prompt a general desire to see him, we are assured his addresses are quite worth hearing for themselves alone being largely imbued with the characteristics that distinguish the man, -- good sense, shrewdness, and a desire to promote the welfare of the colored people. We bespeak for the man and the occasion one of the best and largest audiences our city has ever seen (p. 7).

However, without membership rolls to examine, no

researcher can state how far reaching community involvement in these organizations might have been. Their numbers and variety suggest, however, that Blacks in mid-nineteenth century Springfield undertook many religious, political, and cultural pursuits.

Summary

The Black community in Springfield, Massachusetts, has a long and historically rich history. However, much of the data relative to this population has been lost over time. Yet, some questions concerning this population, which have heretofore been unexplored, can be examined and reflected upon.

Certainly individual members of the present Springfield Afro-American population, in contemplating the history of the city, must wonder about their relationships to it. It is not difficult to imagine a current resident wondering where did the Black people in town come from and how long have they been in town? The data I have been able to collect and assemble concerning this question leaves little doubt that Black people have been in Springfield nearly as long as the town itself has existed. Clearly, the original White settlers were eager to purchase Blacks for menial, undesirable tasks, commonly found in the infant settlement.

These early Afro-Americans probably came from

Connecticut and other parts south. As time passed, however, clearer indications of the place of origin became apparent; the majority of the Black people not born in Massachusetts migrated out of the slave-holding states of the South. Through the diligent and relentless efforts of Black and White people throughout the city, escaping slaves were assisted and protected. Some early migrants decided to remain in town, others, and perhaps most of the Blacks reaching the town, found suitable relief in other areas of the region or in Canada.

The historical record also points out that most Black people who became residents of the town found that ample possibilities for employment were available. The occupational opportunities were, however, limited to unskilled areas like general laborers and domestics for most of the nineteenth century. As time passed and the population grew, the data show that efforts toward vertical employment mobility were evident and some people were able to break the occupational barriers and acquire better paying skilled and semi-skilled jobs. Business opportunities were made possible for those people who were able to acquire enough capital to participate in the local economy. It seems that economic means was the key to success then (as it is today) with the amount of education a person had playing a relatively minor role in the success or failure of the

early Black residents. Primus Parson Mason is the perfect example of this. Mason, a man who could not write his name, amassed a considerable fortune before he died and in so doing, managed to make a mark on the entire Springfield community. There is little doubt in my mind that he would have been lost in the history of the community had it not been for the capital he accumulated. On the other hand, had White Springfield been overtly hostile or legally discriminatory to their Black neighbors, Mason would not have had the opportunity to buy one piece of property, not to mention the long list of real estate purchased by him during the nineteenth century.

For the Afro-American family, Springfield offered Black parents a chance to educate the young, while at the same time it provided the cultural freedom to organize religious and political activities which had been denied them in many other parts of the United States. The opportunity to dictate their own socio-political lives was probably the reason for the numerous visits made by distinguished, nationally known Black activists. Included among those who were frequent visitors, by invitation of the Black community, were Frederick Douglass, Henry Highland Garnet, William "Box" Brown, Hiram Revels, and Sojourner Truth. These people of color could have easily spent their time and efforts in cities and towns with far

larger Black and/or White populations; yet, Springfield managed to gain their attention. The Afro-Americans and their White allies were obviously concerned with their economic and political condition, locally and nationally. They spoke out, brought others into town who could assist them in those efforts, and they worked at becoming politically visable.

Many of these activities might be viewed as attempts by the local people of color to emulate the then existing White organizations and institutions. Perhaps they were! What seems to me to be of primary importance, however, is the fact that they showed their concern through community action. Yet, it seems to me, as the city began to expand and the numbers of Afro-Americans began to increase, the economic opportunities began to decrease; concomitantly, the concern and zeal showed by the nineteenth century Black population dissipated accordingly.

Today the Black community in Springfield seems to have little or no understanding of their historical past. Perhaps the reason is that no one really cares about the past because they are to involved in "making it" now. Part of the fault, however, might be that the public schools have failed to provide the necessary Black cultural history which very often becomes the catalyst for further investigation and subsequent pride.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

Discussion

The major function of this investigation has been twofold: First, the study sought to provide for the inexperienced student of ethnohistorical inquiry a research guide designed to aid the student in learning the relevant terminology and to provide a model for the systematic investigation of ethnic populations in the United States. Secondly, this research thesis was designed to implement some of the methods discussed in the field guide. To accomplish this task an ethnohistorical monograph is submitted, showing the ethnohistorical methodology used in the investigation of the Afro-American population of Springfield, Massachusetts, prior to the turn of the twentieth century.

The materials presented here might be used in a variety of ways. For example, the instructors of American history or anthropology could suggest to their classes that students concentrate on specific areas of the field guide; that is, one section of the class could undertake the task of interviewing people who might have knowledge about the local cultural history. These students could, as a matter

of fact, begin by questioning their parents or other relatives. Another section of the class could start by reviewing local newspapers. A third section of the class could investigate the local written historical accounts. This process could continue until all of the areas in the field guide were assigned. Conceivably after specific periods of time had elapsed, members of the class could exchange assignments, which would enable each section to gain experience in all phases of an ethnohistoric project. After all the relative data had been collected, the entire class could participate in the preparation of the final report.

The idea of separately distributing the assignments, however, is merely a suggestion. One might just as easily perform the entire process without the confusion that might result from large numbers of individual researchers performing different functions on the same project. The ethnohistorical monograph presented in Chapters III and IV is an example of the individual effort of one researcher to collect, analyze, and present a cultural historical case study. However, for most classroom situations the constant confrontation with time limitations might necessitate the use of full class participation in the entire process.

The second phase of this thesis might be used by the reader in yet another way. That is, the case study

presented in Chapters III and IV could well be used as a source for the continued historical investigation of the Afro-American population of Springfield, Massachusetts, on its own merits. One need not be overly concerned with research as a method of study to be intrigued by the cultural/historical events which created this population. Neither the students in the local public school systems nor the average resident of Springfield has any readily available resource in the public schools or public libraries which will provide the organized and systematic analysis of the kinds of data found in Chapters III and IV. The student and the non-student, then, might find ample use for both sections of this study.

Summary

The Field Guide

The specific areas of ethnographic methodology commented on in Chapter II will constitute a beginning, a model by which to develop relevant questions and a sense of the perspectives which the student/researcher can adopt when preparing to undertake an ethnohistorical project. As the student begins to handle the statistical data found in the United States census manuscript schedules or when he or she starts to prepare an interviewing instrument, numerous questions will become evident.

The question of how valid the census data are, which

are found in the United States census manuscript schedules, for example, will be of particular concern to the new investigator. However, since these data are the only sources available in which an attempt was made to enumerate all of the residents in each individual community throughout the United States, the student will have to rely heavily on these materials. Nevertheless, the student will soon learn that regardless of the manuscript schedules' shortcomings, valuable social/historical data are held within their pages.

This fact becomes increasingly clear when the manuscript schedules are used in conjunction with the local city directories. One might argue, however, that neither source is complete; yet, when the manuscript schedules are compared with the city directories for an individual resident's name, occupation, and house location, a fairly clear historical picture begins to emerge. Since the city directories for most cities and towns were published yearly, the directories provide an excellent source for observing annual occupational changes and residential persistence, data that cannot be obtained from any other source.

Yet, though these sources provide the investigator with data that are statistical in nature, the United States' past is not to be recovered only through numbers and percentages. Other major resources like the microfilmed

copies of old newspapers, local historical literature, and personal documents depict a different kind of cultural/historical drama. They often show the day-to-day events which effect the lives of the people enumerated on the census manuscript schedules or in the city directories.

When all of the resources are used in conjunction with each other, a clear ethnohistorical picture can be painted. It becomes the task of the interested student to gather these data together, establish methods for analyzing them, and record the findings.

The Ethnohistorical Case Study

The materials presented in Chapters III and IV are to supply the reader/researcher with data concerning applied ethnohistorical methodology and with an ethnohistorical case study of the Afro-American population of Springfield, Massachusetts. However, there are a couple of specific areas of the monograph to note particularly. For example, the census data which were used to collect totals of individual residents did not provide for the enumeration of the Native American population nor of other minorities that might have been in the city. Consequently, the study could not provide answers to questions such as: (1) what was the relationship between the Amero-Indian population and the Afro-Americans; (2) how did the Springfield

community preceive the Amero-Indian in relation to the Afro-American population; and (3) were the Amero-Indians of Springfield assimilated, physically and/or culturally into the Afro-American or Euro-American populations?

Unlike the sources one might use to uncover the cultural history of the Black population of Springfield, data on the Amero-Indians are seemingly nonextant. To illustrate this point, a survey was made of the local microfilmed copies of the newspapers to determine if any mention had been made of individual or populations of local Native Americans. This search proved fruitless. Of course, the last major confrontation between the Euro-Americans and the original Americans was in 1675, almost 180 years before the establishment of the first Springfield newspaper. One might assume that during that span of time any number of situations could have eliminated the Amero-Indian population from the town history. Nevertheless, continued attempts must be made to put the original American back into American history. As long as they remain locally obscure, the historical accounts of Springfield, Massachusetts, will be incomplete.

The seccnd aspect of the monograph that should bear special mention is the fact that this study constitutes only the cultural history of the local Afro-American population prior to the twentieth century. The Black

population has grown considerably since that time; yet, published accounts of their activities have been neglected. Continued social scientific exploration into the cultural present of this Black population will provide a better understanding of the socio-historical past.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PETER SWINCK'S SPRINGFIELD PROPERTY

1662


CONNECTICUT RIVER.
Three Corner Meadow now Hampden Park
William Pynchon
Henry Smith
Elizur Holyoke
Way to Holyokes
Thos Cooper
Griffith Jones
Simon Sackett 10
Chadiah Miller 10
Hugh Dudley 10
Samuel Terry 10
John Stewart 10
Simon Beaman 10
Frances Pepper 10
Peter Clapin
John Dumbleton
Simon Beaman
George Alexander
Miles Morgan
Rowland Stebbins
Thomas Cooper
William Pynchon
Elizur Holyoke
Henry Smith 20
George Moxon 14
Samuel Chapin 8
Richard Exell 8
Richard Sikes 9
William Warriner 8
Thos. Stebbins
Francis Ball 8
Robert Ashley 8
John Leonard 8
Thomas Merrick 8
Thomas Hawton, James Bridgman 8
John Searle, Alexander Edwards 8
John Clarke 8
John Dibble 8
Rowland Stebbins 8
Samuel Wright 8
Henry Burt 8
John Harmon 8
Nathaniel Pritchard 8
Nathaniel Bliss 10
George Langton 8 14
Margaret Bliss 14
Joseph Parsons 8
Jonathan Taylor 8
John Matthews 8
William Branch 8
William Branch 8
Griffith James 8
Roger Pritchard 8
Benjamin Cooley 8
Jonathan Burt 8
Hugh Parsons 8
John Lombard 8
John Pynchon
War Meadow
E.H.
H.S. 80Rods.
G.M.
S.C.
R.E.
R.S.
W.W.
T.S.
F.B.
R.A.
J.L.
T.M.
J.B.
A.B.
J.C.
J.D.
M.J.
R.S.
S.W.
H.B.
J.H.
N.P.
N.B.
G.L.
M.B.
J.P.
J.T.
J.M.
G.J.
W.B.
W.B.
80Rods.
40Rods G.J.
R.B.
B.C.
Wood Lots
80Rods.
Thomas Cooper 22
William Pynchon. 30
Henry Smith. 20
Elizur Holyoke. 20
George Noxon. 14
Dea. Samuel Chapin 4
Richard Exell. 8
Richard Sikes. 5
William Warriner 9
Thomas Stebbins 8
Benjamin Munn 8
Robert Ashley 8
John Leonard 8
Thomas Merrick 8
James Bridgman 8
Alexander Edwards 8
John Clarke 8
James Osborn 8
Rowland Stebbins 8
Dea. Samuel Wright 8
Henry Burt 8
John Harmon 8
Nathaniel Pritchard 8
Nathaniel Bliss 10
Richard Sikes 8
Margaret Bliss 14
Joseph Parsons 10
Jonathan Taylor 10
John Matthew 8
80Rods
Jonathan Burt 10
Hugh Parsons 10
John Lombard 7
Mill Lot
12 Acres
Mill
Mill River
Pleasant St.
Chestnut St.
MAP
OF THE
HOME LOTS, WET MEADOW, WOOD LOTS
AND
PLANTING GROUNDS
OF
SOME OF THE FIRST SETTLERS OF SPRINGFIELD.
Note - Figures denote RODS
Copyrighted 1870
by HENRY M. BURT

APPENDIX B

ROCO AND SUE'S INDENTURE AGREEMENT

1695

Agreement runs across pp. 260-261

Oct 20th 1695 Agreed with Roco Negroe (letting the accots above remaine as they be [torn] to cleare them besides) That for his & his wifes freedoms which is to be absolute upon his paying to me as followeth which is to say He is to pvide & allow or pay me Twenty five Barrels of good cleane pure Turpentine of 40 gallons to a Barrel & Twenty one barrels of Good merchantable Tarr: where of he is to pay wt he can next yeare by this time 12 Mo & I give him for the Rest the yeare after after so that within Two yeares he is to pay the whole & he is Intirely discharged from me upon the reading of this / Dick Negro came & desyred me to abate & he would Ingage with me & so I Doe as followeth & They & Each of them jointly & severally Bind themselves to pay for his [illegible] the Turpentine as aforesd that is to say five & Twenty Barrels & to be ful of Good pure Turpentine of 40 gallons to a Barrel al to be pd next summer & Roco is to deliver up to me al Implemts whatsoever he hath of mine

Hereunto each of them subscribe & Ingage by setting to their Hands this 20th of Octobr 1695 & each of them discharged

The marks of Roco

The mke of Richard Blackleech the Negro Dick

If the Summer be so cold that the Turpentine cant Run I pmise If they fal short then to stay for some of them til the next year after this coming doing their utmost Indeavors & following it Close

	The Sawmil Pine Hall on the South branch of the Mil River afterwards sixteene acres: wherein I haue one eighth pt is Dr			
Feb 21th 1684	To this weeke my Roco his worke there (not accoting 2 d that he returned back bec of Raine) to this Saturday Night he hath beene there (with my Horse) 3 compleate days besides the Dam worke & house at 5d per d as per agreemt is	00	09	00
Feb 24 84	To Roco 2 d this day & yesterday: also Jonath Morgan yesterday ale is 3 days is	00	09	00
March 16th 1684/85	To 1 d Roco with my Teame	00		
Octob 29 1685	To 1 Gallon of Rum 6s to the Company at Raising by order & desire of Dec Burt G mirick & G Day	00		
	also 1 barrel of Cider 11s			
	To my Teame & John Buck with them 1 day Oct 85			
	To Roco 2 weekes worke to this 31 Oct 1685			
	To Jonath & David Morgan at Raising			

To Roco 8 days last weeke & now

the 10 Nov 1685

To my Teame & Jo Bush Nov 11 & 12th

Dec 8 9 To 2 d of Roco

Dec 21 1685 The Company for this Pine Hal Sawmil

Met & Agreed all my worke to be

30 Days

APPENDIX C

GENEOLOGY OF BLACK SPRINGFIELD FAMILIES

1657-1850

Henry Anderson - - died 30 September 1842, age 24

Gad Austin - - died 13 May 1825, age 52

Bushman - -, a negro, married initially 18 April 1780 with Chloe, of Stafford Cambridge, a negro, married 16 March 1759 -- Presence, a negress, servants of Jedediah Bliss . . .

Children

Pompey, born 6 January 1760

Cezar, Negro Servant of Captain George Colton, baptized 9 July 1741.

Alexander Chyle (colored) died 5 September 1837, age 38

Daniel -- a mulatto, died 21 August 1815, age 21

Dinah -- a woman of colour, died 2 November 1815, age 72

Cornelius N. Elmore (colored) married initially 2 January 1840 with Dolly Ann St. Paul (no race indicated)

Archelaus Fletcher -- a free mulatto man -- married 21 February 1755 (to) Mary Roberts . . .

Children

Ira, born 5 October 1755

Archelaus, born 9 October 1757

Mary, born 5 May 1760, died same day

Mary Roberts (wife of Archelaus) died 12 May 1760

Archelaus Fletcher -- second marriage 16 April 1761 (to) Sarah Fossett or Tossett

Children

Ozias, born 18 January 1762

Archelaus, died 29 April 1781

Betsey Fletcher (colored) died 30 September 1843, age 56

Harry Fletcher (colored) infant child, died 15 October 1836

Benjamin Fowler, a negro, died 3 October 1803, age 45

Dinah Fowler, a colored woman, died 17 September 1827, age 77

Benjamin Frank, colored, died 7 October 1827, age 45

Alexander Hassard (Colored) married 14 October 1836 to Vina Graves (Colored)

Henry or Harry (Colored man), died 15 March 1824, age 95, paper, age 110

Honeywell, negro servant of John Barber, II, married initially 2 January 1747 with Hannah Davis, an Indian Wench of Suffield

Linias --, a negro servant of Thomas Ingersol, died 23 July 1716

Mary, a negro girl of Moses Church, died 29 March 1770

Primus P. Mason (colored) married initially 23 August 1837 with Caroline Gardner

Primus P. Mason (colored) married initially 2 November 1839 with Mrs. Sybil

Washington Deed 120-21, wife Emily. Deed 115-519, wife Sibbil. Deed 136-91, wife Lucretia T. Deed 216-22, wife Julia F.

William Mason (colored) m 21 November 1841 Adaline

Nicholas (colored)

Ned, an old negro of Rueben Ely's, died 29 January 1758. West Sp'd Church Rec.

Negroes -- Church Records

A black man died 8 January 1840 age 86 years. Ch Rec

A black woman died 8 January 1837 age 60 years

A black woman died 7 February 1834 age 85 years

Sandy Onkamer, a negro or Indian, married initially 29 January 1768 with Cloe --, a negro of Hatfield. He was probably the servant Sandy, manumitted in Ebenezer Leonard's will, 1760. He died 25 August 1799 age 68 years. West Sp'd Rec. Wife, Chloe, died 11 November 1807. West Sp'd Rec.

Peter Swing, or Swinck, a colored servant of Captain Pynchon

Children

Abraham, born 22 December 1659, died 25 December 1660

Susannah, born 3 September 1661, died 21 February 1662

Peter Swing, the negro, died 17 December 1699

Widow Mary Swinke -- Relict of Peter, died 24 November 1708

Deed E-395 (1702) she is called Widow Mariah

Deed D-336 (1723) Rachel Cornish, heir and granddaughter of Peter Swing.

Sylvia, negro servant of Rev. Robert Breck, died 30 December

1774 age 8 years.

Pomp, a negro servant of Phineas Chapin, married 10 March 1756 Betty, a negro Wench of Wethersfield

Pomp, a negro servant of Samuel Colton II, died 30 September 1770

Pompe, a negro servant of Jedediah Bliss, baptized

Presence, negro servant of Jedediah Bliss,

Children

Peter, born 26 December 1757

Prirce, negro servant of Samuel Warren, baptized 16 May 1736

Prince, a negro servant of Jedediah Bliss, died 24 September 1749. Church Rec.

Prince

Children

James, baptized 28 June 1818

Nancy Prince (colored) died 11 July 1825 age 44 years

Su, the negro, died 24 January 1710/11, may be wife of Roco

Sue, negro servant of Josiah Chapin, died 9 January 1764, 1st Church Rec.

Susan, a mulatto, formerly servant of Col. Dwight, died 28 January 1803, age 19

Peter -- a negro servant of John Cooley, baptized 14 January 1733/4, Longmeadow Church

Peter, a negro servant of Captain George Colton, baptized 13 July 1735, Longmeadow Church

Peter, a negro servant of Captain George Colton, married 22 May 1744 (to) Phillis - my negro servant, Longmeadow Church Records by Rev. Stephen Williams.

Peter, a negro servant of Jedediah Bliss, baptized - 1778, 1st Church Records.

Tobiah, negro servant of Rev. Stephen Williams, baptized 3 August 1747

Tom, a negro, died 17 November 1723

David Williams (colored) died 24 July 1827 age 22 years. Church Records.

Jack Williams, a negro, married initially 2 September 1802 with Jenny Cumfry, a mulatto

See Jack & Jenny married 26 September 1802, Church Records

APPENDIX D

JENNY'S BILL OF SALE

1808

To whom it may concern, know ye that I Peter V. Geyseling of Schenectady in the County of Albany, for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred dollars to me in hand paid by Daniel Lumbard of Springfield in the county of Hampshire, Do by this instrument sell and convey to John Hooker, Thomas Dwight and George Bliss Selectmen of the Town of Springfield, A Negro Woman named Jenny, Alias Dinah about thirty years of age to have and to hold as their own proper estate -- and I hereby engage that I am the sole and proper owner of said Negro woman. Witness my hand and seal this sixteenth day of Feb. Anno Domini 1808

Peter V. Geyseling

In presence of
James Byers Jun.
Harry Prescott
Charles Lombard

I hereby certify that the within named hundred dollars was paid by Sundry persons for the purpose of liberating said Jenny from slavery.

Witness my hand

Daniel Lombard

We the subscribers hereby agree to pay the sums affixed to our respective names, for the purpose of liberating Jenny from servitude.

Bezaiel Howard	$ 10
Oliver B. Morris	5
J. Byers. Jun	10
Daniel Lombard	10
Ebenezer Tucker	4
Thomas Dwight	10
James Byers	5
Woolcot G. Cooly	3
Simon a Negro	2
Mary Smith	3
Sarah Hooker	3
Mary Lyman	5
Jemina Lyman	3
Danl Bontecou	5
Sol Warriner	5
Mrs. Worthington	5
Mrs. Dwight	5
Mrs. Pynchon	2
George Bliss	5
	$ 100 Dollars

To whom it may concern, Know ye that I Peter Vanalgeyseling —— of Schenectady in the County of Albany; for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred Dollars to me in hand paid by Daniel Lambard of Springfield in the County of Hampshire, do by this instrument sell and convey to Jesse Hoskins, Thomas Dewey & Geo. Wolcott Selectmen of the Town of Springfield, A Negro woman named Jenny about thirty years of age to have and to hold as their own proper estate— And I hereby engage that I am the sole and proper owner of s[aid] Negro woman. Witness my hand and seal this sixteenth day of Feb. Anno Domini 1808

Peter V. Geyseling

Daniel Lambard

We the Subscribers hereby agree to pay the Sums affixed to our respective names, for the purpose of liberating Jenny from Servitude

Bezaleel Howard	£ 10	×
Oliver B Warner		×
Mr [illegible]	— £10 —	2 +
David Lombard		×
Clergy Tucker		+
Wm Bayley	—	10 ×
Isaac Bliss		5 ×
Wm & Cooley	—	3 +
Simon Negro	—	2 ×
Mary Smith	—	3 +
Sarah Hooker	3	+
Mary Lyman	—	5 +
Erastus Lyman		5 +
X [illegible]		5 £1 ×
X [illegible]		5 ×
Mrs Washington	—	5 ×
Mrs Bingham	—	5 ×
Mrs Dexter	—	5 ×
[illegible]		5 ×

£100

I hereby certify that the within named Lunn Dollars was paid by Sundry persons for the purpose liberating Dr Jenny from Slavery.

Witness my hand.

Daniel Lombard

APPENDIX E

A SYNOPSIS OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

A Synopsis of the Fugitive Slave Law -- Samuel May

Section 1. United States Commissioners "authorized and required to exercise and discharge all the powers and duties conferred by this act."

Section 2. Commissioners for the Territories to be appointed by the Superior Court of the same.

Section 3. United States Circuit Courts, and Superior Courts of Territories, required to enlarge the number of Commissioners, "with a view to afford reasonable facilities to reclaim fugitives from labor," &c.

Section 4. Commissioners put on the same footing with Judges of the United States Courts, with regard to enforcing the Law and its penalties.

Section 5. United States Marshals and Deputy Marshals, who may refuse to act under the Law, to be fined one thousand dollars, to the use of the claimant. If a fugitive escape from the custody of a Marshal, the Marshal to be liable for his full value. Commissioners authorized to appoint special officers, and to call out the posse comitatus, &c.

Section 6. The claimant of any fugitive slave, or his attorney, "may pursue and reclaim such fugitive person," either by procuring a warrant from some Judge or Commissioner, "or by seizing and arresting such fugitive, where the same can be done without process"; to take such fugitive

before such Judge or Commissioner, "whose duty it shall be to hear and determine the case of such claimant in a summary manner," and, if satisfied of the identity of the prisoner, to grant a certificate to said Claimant to "remove such fugitive person back to the State or Territory from whence he or she may have escaped,"--using "such reasonable force or restraint as may be necessary under the circumstances of the case." "In no trial or hearing under this act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence." All molestation of the claimant, in the removal of his slave, "by any process issued by any court, judge, magistrate, or other person whomsoever," prohibited.

Section 7. Any person obstructing the arrest of a fugitive, or attempting his or her rescue, or aiding him or her to escape, or harboring and concealing a fugitive, knowing him to be such, shall be subject to a fine of not exceeding one thousand dollars, and to be imprisoned not exceeding six months, and shall also "forfeit and pay the sum of one thousand dollars for each fugitive so lost."

Section 8. Marshals, deputies, clerks and special officers to receive usual fees; commissioners to receive ten dollars, if fugitive is given up to claimant; otherwise, five dollars; to be paid by claimant.

Section 9. If claimant make affidavit that he fears a

rescue of such fugitive from his possession, the officer making the arrest to retain him in custody, and "to remove him to the State whence he fled." Said officer "to employ so many persons as he may seem necessary." All, while so employed, to be paid out of the Treasury of the United States."

Section 10. This section provides an additional and wholly distinct method for the capture of a fugitive; and, it may be added, one of the loosest and most extraordinary that ever appeared on the pages of a statute book. Any person, from whom one held to service or labor has escaped, upon making "satisfactory proof" of such escape before any court of record, or judge thereof in vacation,--a record of matters so proved shall be made by such court, or judge, and also a description of the person escaping, "with such convenient certainty as may be";--a copy of which record, duly attested, "being exhibited to any Judge, Commissioner, or other officer authorized,"--shall be held and taken to be full and conclusive evidence of the fact of escape, and that the service or labor of the person escaping is due to the party in such record mentioned"; when, on satisfactory proof of identity, "he or she shall be delivered up to the claimant." "Provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed as requiring the production of a transcript of such record as evidence as aforesaid; but in its absence,

the claim shall be heard and determined upon other satisfactory proofs competent in law."

Source: Samuel May, The Fugitive Slave Law and Its Victims (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), pp. 3-4.

APPENDIX F

JOHN BROWN'S LEAGUE OF GILEADITES

WORDS OF ADVICE

Branch of the United States League of Gileadites

Adopted January 15, 1851, as written

and recommended by John Brown.

"Union is Strength."

Nothing so charms the American people as personal bravery. The trial for life of one bold, and to some extent, successful man, for defending his rights in good earnest, would arouse more sympathy throughout the nation than the accumulated wrongs and sufferings of more than three millions of our submissive colored population. We need not mention the Greeks struggling against the oppressive Turks, the Poles against Russia, nor the Hungarians against Austria and Russia combined, to prove this. No jury can be found in the Northern states that would convict a man for defending his rights to the last extremity. This is well understood by Southern Congressmen, who insist that the right of trial by jury should not be granted to the refugee. Colored people have more fast friends amongst the whites than they suppose, and would have ten times the number they now have were they but half as much in earnest to accure their dearest rights as they are to ape the follies and extravagance of their white neighbors, and to indulge in idle show, in ease, and in luxury. Just think of the money expended by individuals in

your behalf in the past twenty years. Think of the number who have been mobbed and imprisoned on your account. Have any of you seen the Branded Hand? Do you remember the names of Lovejoy and Torrey?

Should one of your number be arrested, you must collect together as quickly as possible, so as to outnumber your adversaries who are taking an active part against you. Let no able-bodied man appear on the ground unequipped, or with his weapons exposed to view; let that be understood beforehand. Your plans must be known only to yourself, and with the understanding that all traitors must die, whenever caught and proven to be guilty. "Whosoever is fearful or afraid, let him return and part early from Mount Gilead" (Judges, vii chap. 3 verse; Deut. xx chap., 8 verse). Give all cowards an opportunity to show it on condition of holding their peace. Do not delay one moment after you are ready; you will lose all your resolution if you do. Let the first blow be the signal for all to engage, and when engaged do not do your work by halves; but make clean work with your enemies, and be sure you meddle not with any others. By going about your business quietly, you will get the job disposed of before the number that an uproar would bring together can collect; and you will have the advantage of those who come out against you, for they will be wholly unprepared with either equipments or matured

plans; all with them will be confusion and terror. Your enemies will be slow to attack you after you have done up the work nicely; and, if they should, they will have to encounter your white friends, as well as you, for you may safely calculate on a division of the whites, and by that means get to an honorable parley.

Be firm, determined and cool; but let it be understood that you are not to be driven to desperation without making it an awful dear job to others as well as you. Give them to know distinctly that those who live in wooden houses should not throw fire, and that you are as able to suffer as your white neighbors. After effecting a rescue, if you are assailed, go into the houses of your most prominent and influential white friends with your wives, and that will effectually fasten upon them the suspicion of being connected with you, and will compel them to make a common cause with you, whether they would otherwise live up to their profession or not. This would leave them no choice in the matter. Some would doubtless prove themselves true of their own choice; others would flinch. That would be taking them at their own words. You may make a tumult in the court room where a trial is going on by burning gunpowder freely in paper packages, if you cannot think of any better way to create a momentary alarm, and might possibly give one or more of your enemies a hoist. But in such case the prisoner

will need to take the hint at once and bestir himself; and so should his friends improve the opportunity for a general rush.

A lasso might possibly be applied to a slave catcher for once with good effect. Hold on to your weapons, and never be persuaded to leave them, part with them, or have them taken away from you. Stand by one another, and by your friends, while a drop of blood remains; and be hanged, if you must, but tell no tales out of school. Make no confession. . . .

Union is strength, Without some well digested arrangements nothing to any good purpose is likely to be done, let the demand be never so great. Witness the case of Hamlet and Long in New York, when there was no well defined plan of operations or suitable preparations beforehand. The desired end may be effectually secured by the means proposed; namely, the enjoyment of our inalienable right.

AGREEMENT

As citizens of the United States of America, trusting in a just and merciful God, whose spirit and all-powerful aid we humbly implore, we will ever be true to the flag of our beloved country, always acting under it. We whose names are hereunto affixed do constitute ourselves a branch of the United States league of Gileadites. That we will provide ourselves at once with suitable implements, and will aid those who do not possess the means, if any such are disposed to join us. We invite every colored person whose heart is engaged in the performance of our business, whether male or female, old or young. The duty of the aged, infirm and young members of the League shall be to give constant notice to all members in case of an attack upon any of our people. We agree to have no officers except a treasurer and secretary pro tem, and after some trial of courage and talent of able-bodied members shall enable us to elect officers from those who shall have rendered the most important services. Nothing but wisdom and undaunted courage, efficiency and general good conduct shall in any way influence us in electing our officers.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED JAN. 15, 1851

1. Resolved, That we whose names are affixed do constitute ourselves a Branch of the United States League, under the above name.

2. Resolved, That all business of this Branch be conducted with the utmost quiet and good order; that we individually provide ourselves with suitable implements without delay; and that we will sufficiently aid those who do not possess the means if any such are disposed to join us.

3. Resolved, That a committee of one or more discreet, influential men be appointed to collect the names of all colored persons whose heart is engaged for the performance of our business, whether male or female, whether old or young.

4. Resolved, That the appropriate part of all aged, infirm, female or youthful members of this Branch is to give instant notice to all other members of any attack upon the rights of our people, first informing all able-bodied men of this League or Branch, and next, all well known friends of the colored people; and that this information be confined to such alone, that there may be as little excitement as possible and no noise in the so doing.

5. Resolved, That a committee of one or more discreet persons be appointed to ascertain the condition of colored persons in regard to their conduct in any emergency.

6. Resolved, That no other officer than a treasurer, with a president and secretary pro tem, be appointed by this Branch until after some trial of the courage and talents of able-bodied members shall enable a majority of the members to elect their officers from those who shall have rendered the most important services.

7. Resolved, That trusting in a just and merciful God, whose spirit and all-powerful aid we humbly implore, we will most cheerfully and heartily support and obey such officers, when chosen as before; and that nothing but wisdom, undaunted courage, efficiency and general good conduct shall in any degree influence our individual votes in case of such election.

8. Resolved, That a meeting of all members of this Branch shall be immediately called for the purpose of electing officers (to be chosen by ballot) after the first trial shall have been made of the qualification of individual members for such command; as before mentioned.

9. Resolved, That as citizens of the United States of America we will ever be true to the Flag of our beloved country, always acting under it.

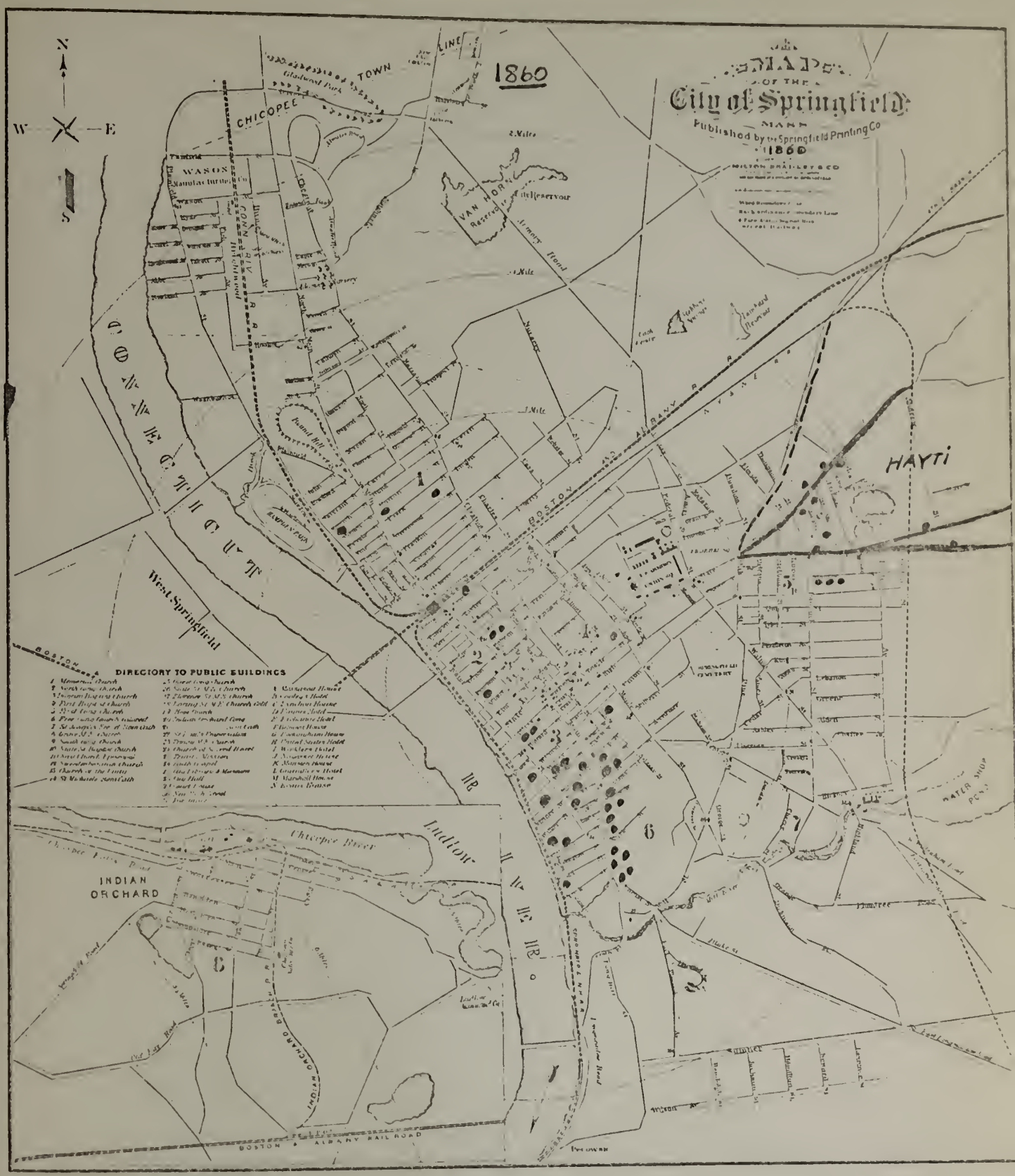
APPENDIX G

DEMOGRAPHIC RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS FOR AFRO-AMERICANS IN SPRINGFIELD 1850


MAP OF
SPRINGFIELD,
MASS.
U.S. ARMORY
SPRINGFIELD CEMETERY
CONNECTICUT RIVER.
Steamboat Landing
Main St.
Union St.
Pearl St.
Franklin St.
Elliot St.
Taylor St.
Worthington Street
Salem St.
Vernon St.
Dartmouth St.
Howard St.
Fulton St.
William St.
Worcester St.
Morris St.
Central St.
Harkness St.
Washington St.
Todd St.
Pleasant St.
Tulip St.
Myrtle St.
Maple St.
Dwight St.
Lebanon St.
Allen St.
Ashley St.
Hickory St.
Old Mill Road
Lincoln St.
Summer St.
Chestnut St.
Water St.
Bridge St.
Court St.
State St.
Elliot St.
Holden St.
Fort St.
Bridge St.
Mill St.
Franklin St.
Union St.
Pearl St.
Elliot St.
Pynchon Court
Auburn St.
Hobbook St.
Myrtle St.
Maple St.
Quincy Street
Tyrrell St.
Pemberton Ave.
Monroe St.
Adams St.
Hancock St.
Lebanon St.
Allen St.
Ashley St.
Hickory St.
Central St.
Dale St.
Chestnut St.
Mill St.
Water St.
Bridge St.
Court St.
State St.
Elliot St.
Holden St.
Fort St.
Bridge St.
Mill St.
Franklin St.
Union St.
Pearl St.
Elliot St.
Pynchon Court
Auburn St.
Hobbook St.
Myrtle St.
Maple St.
Quincy Street
Tyrrell St.
Pemberton Ave.
Monroe St.
Adams St.
Hancock St.
Lebanon St.
Allen St.
Ashley St.
Hickory St.
Central St.
Dale St.
Chestnut St.
Mill St.

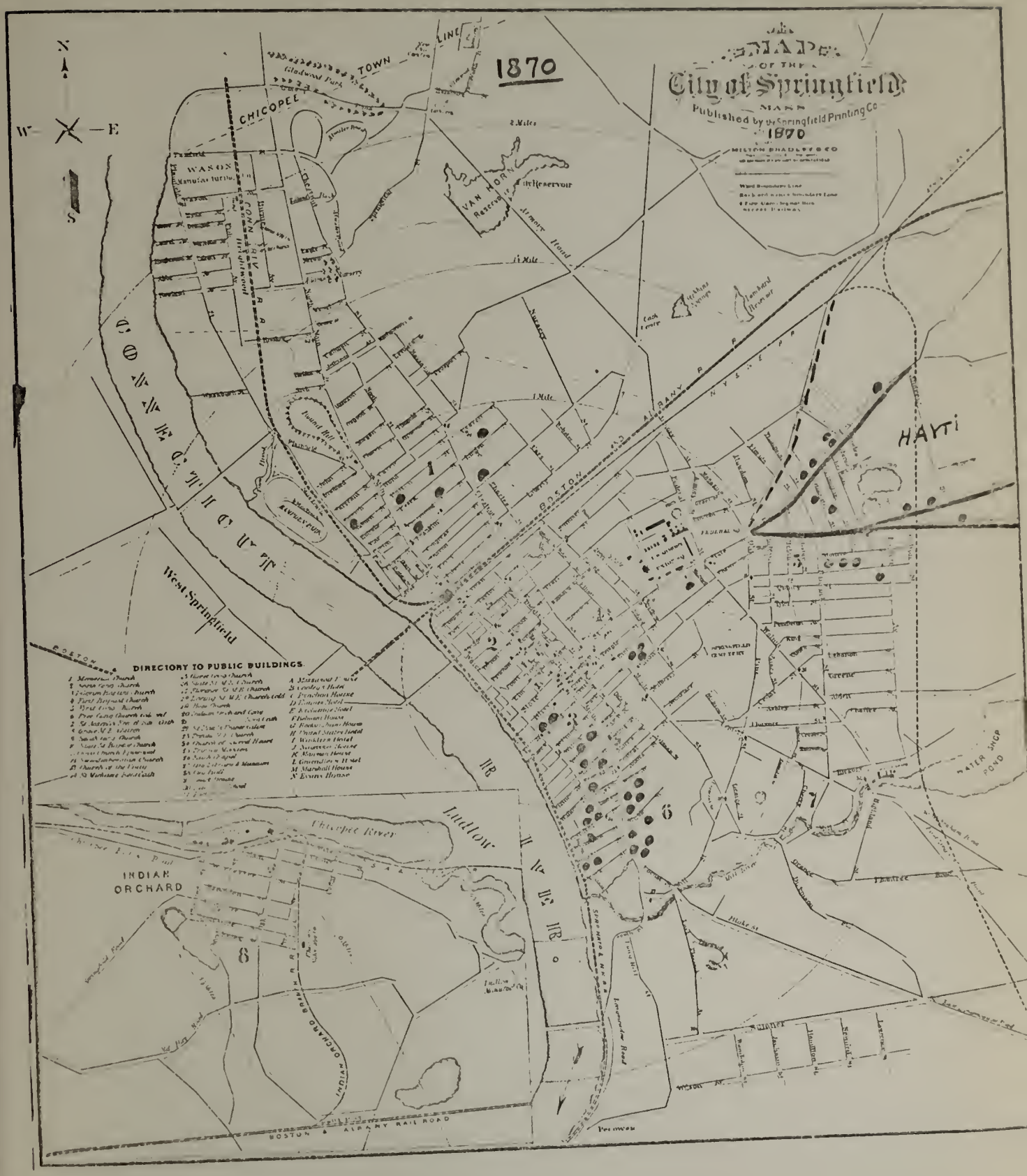
APPENDIX H

DEMOGRAPHIC RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS FOR AFRO-AMERICANS IN SPRINGFIELD 1860


1860
City of Springfield
MAP
Published by the Springfield Printing Co
1860
CHICOPEE
WASON
Manufac'g Co
TOWN
Gladstone Park
CHICOPEE RIVER
CONNECTICUT RIVER
West Springfield
VAN HORN
Reservoir
Reservoir
Armory Road
Hampden Park
Fairfield Reserve
Cash Corner
Walnut Grove
Cedar
Maple
Pine
Chestnut
Union
Main
Water
Court
Elm
Dwight
Lyman
Bliss
Franklin
Bridge
Pynchon
Worthington
Dwight
Lincoln
Allen
Hancock
Harrison
Howard
Temple
Bowdoin
Columbus
Avenue
Hayden Row
Mulberry
Spring
Pleasant
Oak
Grove
Hillside
Cypress
Linden
Walnut
Chestnut
Maple
Pine
Cedar
Elm
Union
Main
Water
Court
Bridge
Dwight
Lyman
Bliss
Franklin
Pynchon
Worthington

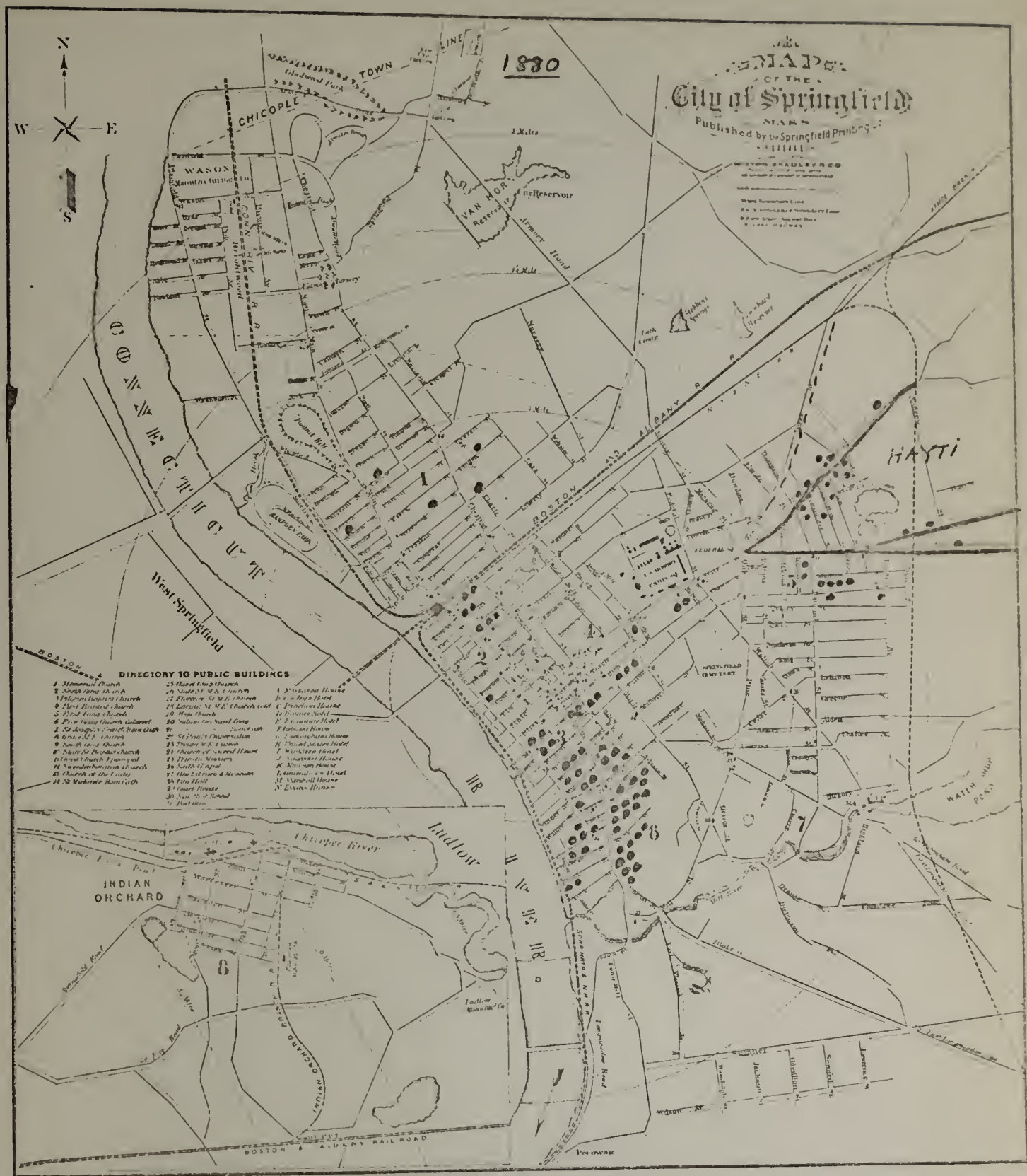
APPENDIX I

DEMOGRAPHIC RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS FOR AFRO-AMERICANS IN SPRINGFIELD 1870


1870
MAP
OF THE
City of Springfield
MASS
Published by the Springfield Printing Co
1870
MILTON BRADLEY & CO
N
W
E
S
CHICOPEE
TOWN
LINE
WASON
Manufac turing Co
Hooker Brook
Chestnut
Maple
Main
Union
Elliot
Oak
Hancock
Pine
Orchard
Hickory
Walnut
Locust
Cedar
Spring
Dwight
Hancock
Lyman
Howard
Franklin
Bliss
Harrison
Dickinson
Lincoln
Allen
Hall
Court
Pleasant
Temple
Church
Bridge
Water
Union
Main
State
Elm
Chestnut
Maple
Pynchon
Worthington

APPENDIX J

DEMOGRAPHIC RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS FOR AFRO-AMERICANS IN SPRINGFIELD 1880


1880
MAP
OF THE
City of Springfield
MASS.
Published by the Springfield Printers
N
W
E
S
CHICOPEE
TOWN LINE
WASON
CONN. RIVER R.R.
VAN HORN
Reservoir
Jersey Road
ALBANY R.R.
CONNECTICUT RIVER
Mill
Tunnel Hill
Depot
Hampden Park
BOSTON & ALBANY R.R.
HAYTI
West Springfield
BOSTON
DIRECTORY TO PUBLIC BUILDINGS
Chicopee River
Ludlow
INDIAN ORCHARD
BOSTON & ALBANY RAIL ROAD

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